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The cities of the United States are being faced with urgent problems and tensions that will not be solved by simple solutions or formulas. There is a great need for dedicated leaders representing all racial, religious, civic, business, and political groups to reason together; to communicate; to understand each other; to formulate action plans; and, with patience and firmness, to persuade the citizenry to cooperate for a better community.

The steps toward effective interracial relations begin with the city administration. The city should have a policy that is clearly and publicly stated. All the units of government should have a joint responsibility. Next in importance to responsible government is communication among the varying forces, institutions, and civic leaders about race relations, and communication among citizens of all racial, ethnic, and religious groups. If communication does not exist no constructive programs are possible. Communication requires sponsorship and approval of the respected and authoritative community leaders. It also requires an organizational structure, in the form of an agency or committee, to keep the communicative process going. The "agency" should be governed by a board or commission of manageable numbers and should involve large numbers of people from all ethnic, business, religious, and racial groups in its program activity. Almost all agencies for race relations should involve such principal elements in the scope of their program as public school education, economic opportunity, housing and residential desegregation, community relations, municipal policy and practices, and public accommodations.

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GENERAL GUIDES: SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS

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GUIDELINES:
A MANUAL FOR
[redacted]
COMMITTEES

Bennett O. Stalvey

PREFACE BY **ADLAI E. STEVENSON**

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PREFACE

Even in this latter part of the most opulent century God has granted us, there are literally countless citizens of our planet who cannot claim the rights of birth in full.

Human rights—the right to live in peace, to get an education, to raise a family free of fear—are the major problems of mankind. They are at the core of nearly everything that must be done. They stand at the heart of every issue. For we believe no longer that any society can long endure in peace, really live with itself, really prosper economically, if, in that society, one race deprives another of human and political rights.

These rights remain the great unfinished business of mankind.

Here, in our own country, we are moving through a period of social change in the direction of equal rights for all our people. That much remains to be done is self-evident. But our greatness as a nation demands that the shadow be dispelled and our international commitment to freedom and justice for all be redeemed. For in winning the battle for human rights here, it will encourage the oppressed and fearful where human rights are denied anywhere in the world.

Human rights and Eleanor Roosevelt will forever be associated in the history of our stirring times, because the phrase "First Lady of the World" was more than mere rhetoric. She really did belong to a family wider than any based on local loyalty or kinship. All around the world, people recognized in her this quality of citizenship in a city embracing all mankind. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of which she was the architect and soul, is part of the legacy she has left for mankind.

It is in this spirit that the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation has determined to make its major focus the broad, limitless field of human rights. For these are the high priority concerns of our Foundation: to equip people with the knowledge and the skills to assure permanent gains in the great social revolution of our time; to help understand better the cause and cures for racial tensions throughout the world; to help assure the ultimate victory of reason, racial harmony, justice for all—and peace.

This study by George Schermer, made possible by a grant from the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation, will be helpful in our mutual objective to allow every man in America to look his neighbor in the face and see a man—not a color.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, Chairman
Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation

"THIS [THE PROBLEM OF RACE RELATIONS] IS NOT A SOUTHERN PROBLEM – IT IS A NATIONAL PROBLEM. AND I WOULD ASK ANY MAYOR WHO BELIEVES THERE IS NO PROBLEM IN HIS CITY TO TALK TO THOSE WHO ONCE BELIEVED THE SAME, AND THEN LOOK AT HIS OWN UNEMPLOYMENT, DELINQUENCY, HOUSING AND OTHER INDICATORS. FEDERAL ACTION . . . CAN HELP TO MEET THIS PROBLEM. STATE ACTION CAN HELP. BUT, IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, WHAT HAPPENS IN BIRMINGHAM OR CHICAGO, ATLANTA OR LOS ANGELES DEPENDS IN LARGE MEASURE ON THE LEADERSHIP IN THOSE COMMUNITIES. WE WILL BACK YOU UP – WE WILL WORK WITH YOU IN EVERY WAY WE CAN – BUT THE MAYOR OF EVERY MAJOR METROPOLITAN CITY IN EVERY SECTION OF AMERICA MUST BE AWARE OF THE DIFFICULT CHALLENGE HE FACES. . . .

"BUT THE FINAL RESPONSIBILITY, BOTH NOW AND AFTER SUCH LEGISLATION IS ENACTED, WILL REST WITH YOU AT THE LOCAL LEVEL. THE PROBLEM IS GROWING. THE CHALLENGE IS THERE. THE CAUSE IS JUST."

PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY
ADDRESS BEFORE THE UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF MAYORS,
HONOLULU, JUNE 9, 1963

"WHERE, AFTER ALL, DO UNIVERSAL HUMAN RIGHTS BEGIN? IN SMALL PLACES, CLOSE TO HOME – SO CLOSE AND SO SMALL THAT THEY CANNOT BE SEEN ON ANY MAP OF THE WORLD. YET THEY ARE THE WORLD OF THE INDIVIDUAL PERSON: THE NEIGHBORHOOD HE LIVES IN, THE SCHOOL OR COLLEGE HE ATTENDS; THE FACTORY, FARM OR OFFICE WHERE HE WORKS. SUCH ARE THE PLACES WHERE EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD SEEKS EQUAL JUSTICE, EQUAL OPPORTUNITY, EQUAL DIGNITY WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION. UNLESS THESE RIGHTS HAVE MEANING THERE, THEY HAVE LITTLE MEANING ANYWHERE. WITHOUT CONCERTED CITIZEN ACTION TO UPHOLD THEM CLOSE TO HOME, WE SHALL LOOK IN VAIN FOR PROGRESS IN THE LARGER WORLD."

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
MARCH 27, 1958

"WE HAVE TALKED LONG ENOUGH IN THIS COUNTRY ABOUT EQUAL RIGHTS. WE HAVE TALKED FOR ONE HUNDRED YEARS OR MORE. IT IS TIME NOW TO WRITE THE NEXT CHAPTER – AND TO WRITE IT IN THE BOOKS OF LAW."

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON
BEFORE JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS,
NOVEMBER 27, 1963

LET US PUT FORTH OUR BEST EFFORTS IN THE FORM OF LEGISLATION AND POSITIVE EXECUTIVE ACTION TO REMOVE ALL VESTIGES OF DISCRIMINATION FROM AMERICAN LIFE AND AFFORD EVERY CITIZEN FULL OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE HIS PLACE IN OUR SOCIETY AS A FREE INDIVIDUAL UNDER LAW AND UNDER GOD.

SIGNED BY 34 GOVERNORS—21 DEMOCRATS, 13 REPUBLICANS
GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE, JULY, 1963

I

INTRODUCTION

WHAT THIS GUIDE IS ABOUT

This guide is about race relations in urban areas. It is addressed to mayors, local government officials and civic leaders. It is intended to help officials and leaders understand the day to day racial problems that have become apparent in almost every city, and have reached critical proportions in some. It is not a sociological treatise. It does not go into history. It does not attempt to support the contentions of one group against another. It describes some of the racial problems that confront and vex public officials and civic leaders. It indicates the steps that have been taken in some American cities to resolve tensions, and to promote communication and cooperation among racial and ethnic groups.

WHY THIS GUIDE HAS BEEN WRITTEN

The racial problem in the United States is not new. It began when white men first set foot upon the continent. It took shape when the first African slaves were brought to our shores. Although the seeds of the current revolution were germinating all the while, there was little visible change in the racial patterns of the United States from the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 until World War I which triggered the migrations from rural to urban areas and from South to North. The ferment that began with urbanization in the 1920's came to a boil in the 1940's, and emerged as a social revolution in the 1960's.

No intelligent and informed civic leader or public official will believe that the momentum of the Negro revolt against second-class status or the tide of change in racial relations will ebb of itself, or be stemmed by opposing forces. Five presidents–Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson; the Supreme

GUIDELINES:

A MANUAL FOR BI-RACIAL COMMITTEES

BY **GEORGE SCHERMER**

PREFACE BY **ADLAI E. STEVENSON**

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

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Research and Materials Branch

Court of the United States; the legislatures and governors of at least thirty states have, in their respective roles, taken firm public positions, issued executive orders, sponsored legislation, adopted civil rights laws, and consistently made judicial decisions that have favored, strengthened, endorsed and supplied official sanction to the principles of full equality before the law, equal opportunity and equal status regardless of color.

The official delegate bodies of major religious groups and the official spokesmen of all the major faiths have supported the civil rights movement entirely in principle and, to a very large extent, as to the means that have so far been employed. Various reliable public opinion polls show that a large majority of the people of the United States support the goals of the civil rights drive even though many disapprove of certain of the means employed.

This guide is based on the assumption that the objectives of the civil rights leadership are sound and that the momentum will continue until wholesome and just patterns of race relations are established. It is not the purpose of this guide to voice protest, to lead a revolt or to express approval of the means employed by all civil rights groups. The purpose here is to help political and civic leadership meet the challenge that is before them in a constructive manner. Some of the ideas may work well in your city; others may not. Readers are urged to use this guide with common sense and discretion.

> . . . LIKE ALL SOUTHERNERS, I GREW UP TO THE TUNE OF "DIXIELAND." BUT WE IN DIXIE CANNOT "LOOK AWAY" FOREVER — NOR CAN THE REST OF THE NATION, TOO LATELY ACKNOWLEDGING ITS OWN PARADOX OF PREJUDICE AND PRIDE.
>
> REPRESENTATIVE CHARLES L. WELTNER (DEMOCRAT-GEORGIA)
> OCTOBER, 1963

II

THE RACIAL PROBLEM—GENERAL ASPECTS

A later chapter describes many of the specific problems of race relations such as schools, employment and housing. Before we get to those specifics, it will be helpful to consider the more general aspects of the total problem.

At the dawn of the twentieth century there was widespread belief that the United States was a true melting pot. There was an optimistic assumption that all of the many racial, cultural and religious groups that had come to America would be assimilated into a new whole—a single people with similar ideals, attitudes and values.

Those who believed that such a process would occur did not worry much about losing their own identities because they had no particular timetable in mind. The process was thought to be automatic, inevitable, impersonal and something that would affect future generations. It was thought that the outcome would be good, since it would be part of a larger pattern of progress.

A half century later it was recognized that the process was not automatic or inevitable. Among those of European ancestry there had indeed been considerable assimilation into the economic and political life of the community. Ethnic groups, however, had to a great extent retained their identity. A "cultural pluralism" had emerged which enabled each ethnic group to flourish within a framework of freedom and mutual respect and tolerance.

On the other hand, Negroes were still excluded almost entirely from the mainstream of American life. In the South they had been segregated into separate schools and separate public facilities by law and formal custom. In the North they were segregated by residential areas through less formal but equally effective means.

In both North and South, Negroes were generally restricted to jobs that were undesirable and underpaid; to inadequate housing and health facilities; to schools of inferior quality. While there were exceptions, most of the Negro population had substantially less education, less training, less income, poorer living conditions, less influence and power than persons of any other group with the possible exception of American Indians.

THE STATUS COULDN'T REMAIN QUO

One often reads or hears statements to the effect that race relations would be stable and quiet if politicians and agitators did not stir up people to get votes or to create discontent. Certainly there are many instances in which demagogues have appealed to the latent prejudices and hatreds of both whites and Negroes.

An objective view, however, reveals that the emergence of the Negro protest and the appeals of the unscrupulous demagogues, Negro or white, are symptoms rather than causes. During the past half century or more, conditions in the world and in the nation have been changing at a tremendous pace. The population of the United States has multiplied nearly six times since 1860. The Negro population has multiplied more than four times in the same period. In 1860 nearly all Negroes lived on the farms and plantations of the South. In 1960 less than one sixth lived on farms; over half lived in urban areas.

This growth of population, coupled with the use of power and mechanization in agriculture, produced an inevitable trek of both whites and Negroes to the cities. With that tremendous movement of population, the old, established patterns of race relations could no longer prevail. It was not the agitators who were changing the pattern of race relations; the population movement brought racial change to our cities, generated tensions and, sometimes, produced violence.

COMPETITION

When people live in cities they must have jobs. Unless times are very prosperous there are likely to be more people than jobs, and so there is competition. Negroes and whites have often competed for the same jobs. Since white people were more numerous and powerful than Negroes, and since there were usually no laws or rules to distribute the jobs fairly, it was inevitable that the whites would get first choice and the Negroes would get what was left.

Negroes have resented getting the leftovers when frequently they were as qualified as whites. Hostility has been the result. Another consequence of limited economic opportunity is the Negro community's low standard of living in comparison with the white community.

SEGREGATION

Racial segregation tends to fall into two kinds of patterns. The traditional Southern pattern was to designate, by law or custom, separate facilities for Negroes and whites. Thus, Negroes and whites often lived in close proximity but attended separate schools and churches, and sat in separate sections in public vehicles and all other places of public accommodation.

Outside the South the idea of separately designated facilities is abhorrent and traditionally unlawful. Instead, whites sought to exclude Negroes entirely from their neighborhoods by extra-legal means. If that did not succeed, they abandoned the neighborhoods to the Negroes thus creating the racial ghettos that are almost universal in the larger cities.

Segregation inevitably produces attitudes of group loyalty and common cause among those segregated, and suspicion and hostility toward those of other groups. The tighter and more massive the segregation pattern, the greater is the gulf between groups, the more intense are the hostilities, and the greater the potential for conflict and violence.

SUBURB VERSUS CENTRAL CITY

In larger metropolitan areas the segregation process has gone so far that the central city has become a major Negro concentration, while the white population is settled in a ring of suburbs outside. Cities like St. Louis, Baltimore, Washington, Detroit and Philadelphia have Negro ratios ranging from twenty-five to over fifty per cent. The ratios for public school populations are usually much higher. There is a tendency for older white couples, whose children have finished school, to remain in or return to the city, while younger families with school age children move to the suburbs. If the latter remain in the city, they frequently send their children to parochial and other private schools which have proportionately fewer Negro children. In Philadelphia, for example, Negroes constitute about twenty-eight per cent of the total population and about fifty-four per cent of the public school population.

The disproportionate growth of the center city Negro population does not mean that the metropolitan white population is declining. In most metropolitan areas the growth of white and non-white population is relatively parallel. The suburbs are expanding while the city remains static, and nearly all the suburban growth is white.

These developments are causing a political revolution. The Negro vote, already an extremely important element in the politics of many cities, will become even more crucial in the years to come.

Suburban communities tend to resent the encroachment of the central city. Individually, the suburbs are relatively weak. Collectively, they become a powerful force in state politics. In time, the traditional competition between central city and suburbs may take on serious racial overtones. A metropolitan approach to racial problems is thus highly desirable before the problem reaches unmanageable proportions.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP PERCEPTIONS

It is almost impossible for a group of people to agree upon a program or plan of action unless at least a majority are agreed concerning the definition of the problem. All of us are familiar with the fable of the blind men and the elephant. Many of us have heard the conflicting testimony of witnesses to an altercation or an accident, and have wondered how intelligent and honest people could have seen the same incident so differently. The explanation is that each was standing in a different place and each saw the incident or situation from a different perspective.

It is not difficult to understand why Northerners and Southerners have different perceptions of American history or why Negroes have a third view quite different from the others. Nor is it difficult to understand why many Negroes may perceive a police officer as a symbol of oppressive authority while whites perceive him to be a protector.

Each of the perceptions may have some validity while none may be entirely accurate. What is important is for all to understand that the perceptions of intelligent and sincere people may vary widely and that communication and cooperation will be possible only as all concerned strive to understand the others' perceptions, and to survey the problems from several angles so that a commonly agreed on perception can be achieved.

SEMANTICS

Closely related to the matter of perception is that of the definition of words and phrases. A misunderstanding concerning the meaning of a single word can render a meeting useless and promote dissension throughout an entire community.

For instance, the word "gradual" is viewed by many Negroes as meaning "never." A white person may be using the word to postpone action, or he may mean "a steady, orderly process." The term "integration" may be used by some in its dictionary sense of "to unite" or "form into a whole," but for many it means any pattern that is not absolutely and completely separate and exclusive.

As attempts are made to bring persons with opposing views together around a table, great care must be taken to assure that particular words and phrases are carefully weighed and defined.

CAUSES AND CURES

People tend to take sides quickly and firmly on emotional issues such as religion, politics, and race. Depending upon their particular prejudices and perceptions, various groups have developed their own particular hypotheses concerning the causes and cures for racial tensions and conflict.

> Some believe Negroes to be inherently inferior and incapable of responsible citizenship.
>
> Some believe whites to be inherently evil and capable only of dominating and exploiting minority racial groups.
>
> Some groups believe that racial discrimination is a sole

cause and that the removal of conscious discriminatory practices will automatically assure justice and equality.

Some believe that, while discrimination may have been an original cause, Negroes are now so far behind that only extraordinary programs of education, training and other "compensatory" measures will enable them to catch up.

Some believe that no system of rules based upon concepts of equal opportunity and fair practices will work, and that a system of "fair share" or quotas is necessary.

Some of these views may have considerable validity; some may have none. An objective observer will see that the problem is much too complex to lend itself to simple and easy cures. If all the Negroes in the country suddenly became educated and trained on a level comparable to the white population, discrimination would stand in the way of vast numbers getting the jobs and privileges that whites now have. If all discrimination could suddenly vanish, overnight, tremendous numbers of Negroes would not have the training required to put them on an equal footing with whites.

THE LONG, HARD ROAD AHEAD

Some nostalgic souls may believe there was a time when the racial problems of the United States were justly and fairly regulated by custom. In fact, there are still some public officials who smugly declare they have no problem in their cities. No realistic official will believe there can be a return to the past. The cities of the United States are forced by circumstance to deal with the misunderstandings, hostilities and tensions; the practices of discrimination; the facts of poverty and inadequacies of education and training; the existence of the racial ghetto and the necessity of doing something about it; the necessity of expanding the economic base so there is job opportunity for all; and the need for completely overhauling the school systems so the educational needs of all children can be served.

These are not simple problems, and simple solutions or formulas will not work. Dedicated leaders, representative of all racial, religious, civic, business and political groups are needed to sit together, to communicate, to understand each other, to formulate action plans and, with patience and firmness, to persuade the citizenry to cooperate for a better community.

TO UNDERSTAND FULLY WHAT CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION IS ABOUT, ONE NEED ONLY FOR A MOMENT PUT HIMSELF IN THE POSITION OF THE NEGRO WHO, WALKING INTO A RESTAURANT, OR A HOTEL OR A STORE, MUST FIRST LOOK AROUND APPREHENSIVELY TO SEE WHETHER OR NOT HE OR SHE IS WELCOME. I HAVE SEEN THIS HUMAN TRAGEDY A THOUSAND TIMES MYSELF.

JACOB K. JAVITS (REPUBLICAN-NEW YORK)
CONGRESS, SEPTEMBER, 1963

III

REQUIREMENTS FOR IMPROVING RACIAL RELATIONS

GOOD GOVERNMENT

A responsible, honest, effective local government administration, guided by sound principles of law and respected and supported by the citizenry, is a first and most important requirement. If the local government does in spite of their governments. Often, civic groups, operating with the sponsored by it will have little success. For the purposes of this guide, good local government will be assumed.

This does not mean that, in the absence of good government, nothing can be done. Many cities manage somehow to conduct their affairs rather well in spite of their governments. Often, civic groups, operating with the sponsorship or support of such organizations as the Chamber of Commerce, supply the leadership that the political structure fails to provide.

ADMINISTRATION POLICY AND RESPONSIBILITY

The city administration—whether a mayor or a board of commissioners—should have a policy that is publicly and clearly stated. The finer points of policy will vary depending upon local conditions. However, the principal boundaries of policy are already clearly indicated by the law and public policy. It is not enough for a mayor to passively say that he supports the Constitution and the laws of the land. As the head of local government he is more than a dispassionate and neutral administrator of law; he is also a leader. The public looks to him for leadership. Even though his policy may go no further than existing public policy, by his statements the public will know where he stands and will respect his leadership if he makes his own position clear.

Included in the administration policy should be the requirement that all units of government have a joint responsibility. The later sections of this guide are largely devoted to the organization and program of official municipal commissions on human relations. There is danger that other units of government may believe that they are relieved of responsibility if an official human relations agency is established.

The essence of good human relations is that it is everybody's business. The police command and every police officer, the entire structure of the health and welfare departments, the city planning, urban renewal and housing agencies, and all the principals and teachers of the school system should know their responsibility for assuring equal opportunity and promoting wholesome intergroup relations.

COMMUNICATION

Next in importance to responsibility in government is communication among the responsible forces, institutions and civic leadership *about* race relations; and communication among and between many citizens of all racial, ethnic and religious groups. There is no substitute for this. If communication does not exist, no constructive programs are possible.

Communication, as used in this guide, means the mutual exchange of feelings, ideas, opinions and information, directed to solving problems. It does not mean talking *at* people. It is the process by which concerned leadership begins to understand the perceptions and viewpoints of others and by which common goals can be defined.

THE MYTH OF GROUP "LEADERS"

When one considers the difficulty of developing true communication and understanding among the members of a family or a small group such as a church congregation, it becomes obvious that promoting communication and understanding among the citizens of a city of one hundred thousand or more population is a tremendous undertaking.

Public officials and civic leaders often delude themselves by assuming they have promoted communication by bringing the "leaders" of the various population elements together. It is assumed that a committee consisting of a dozen or more persons who have some prominence as Negroes, Protestants, Catholics, Jews, businessmen and labor officials, serves as a means of intercommunication among the people of the respective groups.

Only rarely is there such a thing as "a leader of Catholics," "a leader of Jews," "a leader of white Protestants," "a leader of Negroes." A prominent Protestant clergyman may be a leader of his own congregation, but he is subject to immediate challenge if he tries to persuade his flock to accept views that are contrary to the accepted popular view. A Catholic clergyman may be revered as a spiritual leader, but his views on secular matters will not necessarily be accepted by his parishioners.

One definition of a leader is "one who has a following." However, the followers usually decide who their leader shall be and quickly reject the leadership if it deviates from the wishes and opinions of the group.

Status and prominence are confused with leadership. A person, white or Negro, who is successful as a physician, lawyer, school official or businessman has status. He does not necessarily have a following. A Negro who has earned the respect of large numbers of both whites and Negroes has prestige, but he may not be a leader.

The idea that large numbers of people of any racial or religious group can be controlled or managed through "leaders" is, to a considerable extent, a myth. People can be aroused or calmed, or led to irrational or rational forms of behavior through direct communication and appeal to their emotions and/or to their reason. A committee of prominent, respected and wise people, representative of the various groups in the community, can decide what to communicate and how to communicate; but their mere presence and participation on a committee does little to influence the behavior of what is presumed to be their following.

Effective communication to large numbers of people is an extremely complex undertaking and must be carefully and skillfully planned and executed.

AN "AGENCY" IS ESSENTIAL

Communication rarely "just happens." It is something that has to be planned and worked for. It requires the sponsorship and approval of the most respected and authoritative leadership in the community. It requires knowledge, skill and experience. Most important, it requires an organizational structure which can keep the process of communication going.

A responsible agency, organization or committee is essential. Constructive community developments rarely, if ever, occur unless there is an organization through which programs can be initiated, sponsored, promoted and sustained.

Many different types of organizations have had some success, so no one formula can be prescribed. However, the following generalizations can be made:

1. Federations or councils of organizations usually do not work well, since they must rely upon the consent of the constituents before action can be taken. This process is too cumbersome.

2. Voluntary committees or councils usually represent a limited spectrum of community concern. Without authorization by the local government they do not enjoy the support and confidence of the power structure and, thus, will not have the influence and power to effectuate policy. Such groups have their value in representing a

viewpoint but they cannot serve the function for which this guide is written.

3. The most successful "agencies" conform, more or less, to the following prototype:

   a. It is established by and serves as a creature of the local government (city or county).

   b. Fairly specific responsibilities and powers have been delegated to it by council ordinance or Mayor's Executive Order.

   c. Its board consists of persons of prestige and respect, representative of the responsible racial, religious, business, labor and civic elements and organizations; but is entirely independent of them.

   d. It receives an appropriation or has some other assured source of financial support.

   e. It employs an executive staff to assure continuity of program and follow through.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND PARTICIPATION

While the "agency" should be governed by a board or commission of manageable numbers, it is essential that large numbers of people, representative of the religious, ethnic, business, labor, fraternal and racial institutions and organizations, be involved in the processes of communication and program activity. The "agency" should be conceived of as something much more than a "resolver of complaints" or a behind-the-scene "fixer" or "repair service." The very essence of its program must be to involve more and more citizens in the processes and activities of good human relations. This is not done *to* people. People must do it themselves with the leadership and guidance of a responsible "agent."

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

Broadly understood goals and objectives are necessary. Communication and community involvement soon disintegrate if the participants do not see some point to the activity. Defining the goals is a difficult and delicate undertaking in an area so subject to controversy as race relations, but it must be done. A few guiding principles will help:

1. While an "agent" is responsible for having the goals defined and should provide the forum through which this is done, the entire community should be involved in the process, so it will not seem that a few people have imposed their objectives upon the entire community.

2. The goals should be defined in terms of the broad interests and the general good of all the people and not in

terms of the narrow and specific interests of a particular group.

3. To start, the goals should be fairly obvious, widely acceptable, and general. There should then be steady progress toward the more specific, more difficult and more controversial goals.

SPECIFIC TASKS SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN

In addition to the long range goals, specific task objectives that can be achieved within a reasonable period of time should be selected, and appropriate organizational resources and programs should be directed toward achieving these. The participants must have a sense of movement and success if interest is to be sustained. The community at large will have confidence only if progress is visible and continuous.

TENSION MUST BE CHANNELED AND USED CREATIVELY

Racial tensions result from two quite different conditions. If there is a vacuum in which leadership and communication are absent, the frustration and hostilities that are the inevitable products of expanding and shifting populations are not drained off. Tensions then build up until there is an explosion.

However, all change–including constructive change toward better conditions–generates friction and tension. Wherever there are groups of people, there will be tension. Without tension, society would become static; civilization would decline.

The objective then is to recognize and understand the tensions, and to channel or harness them toward desirable goals.

I AM FOR CIVIL RIGHTS AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY BECAUSE FREEDOM IS AN INDIVISIBLE VALUE AND SO LONG AS ANY PERSON IS DENIED HIS FREEDOM, MY FREEDOM IS IN JEOPARDY. . . . WE CAN MAKE OUR OWN FREEDOM SECURE ONLY AS WE MAKE FREEDOM UNIVERSAL SO THAT ALL MAY SHARE ITS BLESSINGS.

WALTER REUTHER, VICE-PRESIDENT, AFL-CIO
WASHINGTON, AUGUST, 1963

IV

THE "AGENCY"—A COMMITTEE, COMMISSION OR BOARD

In the preceding chapter it was concluded that effective and sustained communication and program activity require appropriate organizational machinery. This leads to such questions as: What is meant by an "agency"? How should it be established? What powers should it have? How should it be financed?

Agent or *agency* as used in this text means an organization or instrument for getting things done. It is a generic term that includes such instruments as: mayors' committees, official commissions, boards, community councils, or, occasionally a particular person authorized to act.

GEOGRAPHIC BASE

Should such an agency operate on a state, regional or municipal base?

There are twenty-six states which now have some form of state human relations agency. Twenty of these are established by law and are empowered to administer laws which prohibit discrimination because of race, color, religion or ethnic origin in one or more of the following: employment, public accommodations, housing or higher education. The balance of the states have statutory agencies or governors' committees that are limited to fact finding, advisory and educational activities.

These state agencies perform vital and important functions. There are few states, if any, that would not benefit by having one. But, by their very nature as state commissions, they cannot readily provide the local forum necessary to cultivate communication and participation at the local community level. However, whether or not a state commission exists does have a bearing upon the nature of the local agency's program.

In metropolitan areas, made up of a cluster of municipalities, the racial problem pertains to the metropolitan community as a whole, not to each municipality. Usually there are major concentrations of the Negro population in the central city and a few of the suburbs, while many of the suburbs are exclusively white. The problems resulting from these patterns of segregation cannot be solved solely by the communities in which the Negroes reside, since part of the solution rests with the communities from which they are excluded.

For this reason it is highly desirable to provide the committee or commission with a metropolitan base. This has been done by Los Angeles County which encompasses an area of over 4,000 square miles, a population of nearly 7,000,000 and a total of 77 municipalities.

Where the greater community is so large, however, it may be necessary to organize subsidiary committees in each of several areas which constitute a natural community of interest.

Usually there is no metropolitan governmental structure suitable as a base for an effective committee or commission. Very often, then, the only possible geographic base is the municipality. A number of municipal committees or commissions are more likely to produce some constructive results than none at all. Therefore, unless there is some hope for an effective metropolitan agency, the municipality presents the only practical possibility.

STATUTORY BASE

Municipal human relations committees or commissions have been established by any one of the following means, listed in order from the strongest to the weakest base:

- City Home Rule Charter.
- Ordinance of City Council, City Commission or County Commission.
- Mayor's Proclamation supported by City Council resolution of concurrence.
- Mayor's Proclamation or Executive Order without Council concurrence.
- Self-organized group with Mayor's official recognition or endorsement.

Philadelphia is unique in that provisions for a Commission on Human Relations were incorporated into a Home Rule Charter adopted by popular referendum in 1951. Specific provisions of the Charter empower the Commission to (1) administer and enforce laws which prohibit discrimination; (2) initiate investigation of charges of discrimination, hold public hearings and make public its findings; and, (3) conduct and promote educational programs. Certain general provisions of the Charter grant the Commission the power to *subpoena* witnesses and to compel testimony.

The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee of Cincinnati was authorized by City Council in 1943. The Committee consists of more than 100 members, some of whom are appointed by the Mayor and others who are elected by the Committee. The Committee is incorporated, has adopted its own constitution, and elects its own officers and receives funds appropriated by the City Council. Its relation to the city is that of an independent agency under contract.

The Commissions in New York, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Cleveland, Toledo, Erie, Des Moines, Gary, Minneapolis and St. Paul are established by ordinance and are empowered to administer ordinances prohibiting discrimination in employment or housing or both.

Of the 249 cities reporting a municipal human relations agency in some form, it appears that about twenty per cent did so by ordinance. Another sixty per cent were created by proclamation of the mayor with concurrence of the city council. The remainder were created by the mayor without concurring action of council.

In several cities, committees were first established by proclamation of the mayor and at a later date replaced by commissions authorized by council ordinance. Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh and New York are examples.

MODEL ORDINANCE

Conditions vary too much among cities to permit the recommendation of a single model ordinance. Some cities, in states where there are no effective state laws or state commissions pertaining to equal opportunity, may find it advisable to adopt an ordinance prohibiting discrimination and providing for a commission to administer the ordinance. In those states where the responsibility for assuring equal opportunity by law has been preempted by the state, an ordinance providing for a community relations function, only, may be more in order.

Among the cities which have provided primarily for a community relations function, rather than for one that administers and enforces fair practices laws, the city of Topeka, Kansas, has adopted an ordinance that is the most comprehensive in its provisions. That ordinance combines the best features of several others and is therefore included in Appendix B.

Those cities having ordinances prohibiting discrimination in employment, housing or public accommodations are indicated in Appendix A3. Copies of ordinances can be obtained by writing to those cities.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS AND LEGAL REGULATION

There have been two distinct views concerning the role of government in the field of race relations. One view holds that government should be the regulator. According to this view, government should adopt laws and/or promulgate regulations which define fair practices, prohibit discrimination and require compliance. The human relations agency is then established to administer the law. The law usually provides that the agency shall promote educational programs and use every possible means to persuade and conciliate. It also empowers the agency to coerce after due process. Such agencies function very much as a school teacher who has the power to coerce when other forms of discipline fail.

A second view holds that the very essence of good human relations is the meeting of minds, mutual understanding and cooperative action. This relationship cannot be established, it is thought, if an element of coercion is present. All parties must feel free to participate or withdraw at their own discretion. A government agency should serve as promoter and expediter of communication and provide the forum within which the parties can meet. The U.S. Labor Conciliation Service, which has no power to coerce, is an example of this type of agency.

The two views are not mutually exclusive. The necessity for law and governmental regulation does not in any way lessen the desirability or necessity for a community relations program which is non-coercive, voluntary and cooperative. Both approaches are vital and necessary.

ARE TWO TYPES OF AGENCIES REQUIRED?

If both of the foregoing approaches to race relations are essential, the question remains whether both functions can be served by the same agency. In many states the question has become academic since the state has pre-empted the regulatory function. Many of the state agencies are also authorized to perform the community relations function. However, to perform that function effectively a local committee, equivalent to a mayor's committee or human relations commission, is required. In addition, it is essential that such committees be adequately staffed. Thus far, most of the state commissions have not been financed to provide staff services to meet the community relations needs of local communities.

A fairly standard pattern is emerging in this respect. The state agencies have assumed the larger part of the regulatory function while local agencies are serving the community relations function.

There is no basis to date for concluding that one agency cannot serve both functions. The agencies in Cleveland, Erie, New York, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and Toledo serve both functions. It does not appear that the community relations function has been less effective because of the regulatory powers possessed by these agencies.

Cities located in those states in which there is no state regulation will find that the agencies cited in the preceding paragraph provide examples which may be emulated.

SIZE OF COMMITTEE, COMMISSION OR BOARD

There are wide variations among agencies as to size of board. Some have as few as five and some number more than one hundred. In those instances where the agency has administrative or quasi-judicial powers a smaller board is obviously desirable and necessary.

The larger the board the more representative it can be and, therefore, the more sensitive to the many interests and viewpoints of the various segments of the population. However, the individual members of a large board tend to feel that they have less personal responsibility for getting things done. A large board often becomes a debating society and is not geared to clear and consistent policy or to effective action.

While there are a few exceptionally effective agencies with larger boards, experience indicates that the desirable size ranges between five and fifteen.

A desirable and useful arrangement is to have a small administrative board, fully clothed with power to act; and a larger advisory committee which serves both as a sounding board and as an aid to communication with the many segments of the community.

SELECTING THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE, COMMISSION OR BOARD

Great care must be taken in selecting and appointing members of the committee, board or commission. Many factors must be considered. Responsibility, concern for and dedication to the general welfare, sensitivity to the interests and feelings of all people—especially the least articulate and least fortunate—and prestige that is founded upon trust and confidence, are most important.

Prestige founded upon wealth, ancestry or power has little value unless the person is conversant with the problems and sensitive to the needs and feelings of both the inarticulate and the dissident.

The board must be bi-racial and as representative as possible of the religious, ethnic, business, labor and civic groups in the community. Getting the broadest possible representation from the dissident or ideologically opposed elements of the community has value, but the value may be diminished if such representatives are uncompromising in pressing the interests only of their own adherents, white or Negro. It is less important that the opposing elements be represented on the board than that the board demonstrate that it will hear all groups and give fair consideration to all complaints, suggestions and demands, providing they are consistent with the general welfare.

The preceding statement should not be interpreted as being critical of the vigorous and uncompromising leader of a civil rights organization. Such persons play vital roles in our society. However, it is rare that such a person can function effectively in the dual roles of protest leader and as a member of an official board that is trying to bridge the gulfs between the several groups within the larger community.

FINANCES AND STAFF

Most of the committees in the smaller cities operate on a volunteer basis, without professional staff, with a nominal appropriation to cover office costs. Some rely upon the staff of the mayor's office or other city departments for staff assistance.

All of the agencies that have had a sustained program over a period of years have received regular annual appropriations and have employed a staff.

Budgets range from as little as $5,000 to $500,000 (New York City). Among the larger cities, Philadelphia–which appropriated $324,000 for 1964–has the largest (approximately sixteen cents) per capita budget.

Cities under 100,000 population have usually had a staff limited to an executive director and a secretary. This suggests a minimum budget of $12,000 to $15,000, or a per capita investment of not less than twelve cents in a small city.

STATE ASSISTANCE TO SMALL CITIES

While the cost of maintaining a professional staff in a large city is nominal, smaller cities and suburban areas may find that it is difficult or impossible to obtain the services of a competent staff. It is suggested that state legislatures might provide for service to such communities by creating and financing a state agency with professional staff assigned on a regional basis to serve the requirements of a number of local communities.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR STAFF

Persons who have had experience in interracial and intergroup work are in great demand. Most of the agencies that are just beginning will have difficulty finding already trained and experienced personnel. Those who have people serving as directors and in other professional capacities offer only very broad criteria as to qualifications. Following are some of the general criteria.

> *Education:* Usually a college degree with a major or graduate study in social science, social work, education, law, journalism or theology.
>
> *Experience:* Usually in community organization, social work, education, journalism or law.
>
> *Skills:* Exceptionally skilled in communications, speaking, writing, organizing, and in objective analysis of social problems.
>
> *Personal characteristics:* Intelligent, thoughtful, intellectually honest, objective, dedicated, good humored, emotionally mature, capable of listening and understanding, and the ability to work with people.

THE NEGRO DRIVE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS CONCERNS ALL AMERICANS BECAUSE ANYTIME WE DENY ANY CITIZEN THE FULL EXERCISE OF HIS CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, WE ARE WEAKENING OUR OWN CLAIM TO THEM.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER
OCTOBER, 1963

V

WHERE AND HOW TO START

FIRST STEPS TOWARD A COMMITTEE OR COMMISSION

In the last twenty years a great many city human relations committees have come into being. There has been no set pattern of origin. Following are some of the beginnings:

> A crisis developed; rioting broke out. The Mayor, responding to citizen demand, appointed a bi-racial committee to investigate causes and recommend a program.
>
> After rioting had occurred in one city, the mayors of several other cities appointed committees to prevent a similar occurrence in their respective communities.
>
> A group of concerned citizens, representative of various racial, ethnic, religious, business and civic groups, formed their own voluntary committee, conducted a preliminary survey, drew up a tentative plan and called upon the Mayor to establish an official committee.
>
> A City Manager, with the approval of the Mayor and the City Council, assigned an administrative assistant to conduct a survey and find out what other cities were doing. Consultations were held with numerous local groups. An *ad hoc* citizens' advisory group was formed which supported a plan for creating a permanent commission.
>
> Civic groups organized a Council for Equal Job Opportunity which then conducted a campaign for a local fair employment law including the creation of a fair practices

commission which eventually was expanded into a human relations commission.

In many instances where a board or commission has been eventually established by ordinance, the first step was to create an *ad hoc* mayor's or council-appointed committee. This gave the committee an opportunity to demonstrate its usefulness, thus paving the way for a more permanent arrangement.

An ordinance or other statutory base is very important for continuity, status and strength. Proponents of a sound and continuing human relations program should persist in pressing for appropriate legislation to establish a permanent commission. However, it may not be advisable to risk a major legislative contest for an ordinance during the formative period. A mayor's committee may do very well for the first year or two.

FIRST STEPS TOWARD A PROGRAM

The posture and status of the agency is of tremendous importance. If it has a statutory base and an adequate budget to begin with, it is off to a good start. If it does not have those advantages, it is much more dependent upon the prestige and power of the Mayor, the City Council, and the major forces of stability and power in the community.

An important first step is for the mayor to invite a broadly representative group of recognized and respected community leaders to the meeting of the newly-appointed agency board. He should publicly state his concern for wholesome, stable and just relationships among the racial groups; his purpose and confidence in establishing the agency; and his desire that all elements of the community will cooperate. (An excellent example is an address by Mayor Hal W. Gerlach of Topeka, Kansas, July 16, 1963 in launching the newly established Topeka Human Relations Commission.)

SOUND INFORMATION BUILDS CONFIDENCE

The agency should strive to become, as early as possible, a respected source for reliable and meaningful information on race relations matters of the local region. This is the most certain, least risky, least controversial, least expensive means of gaining the respect, good will, and cooperation of the press and mass media, responsible civic organizations and local government officials. If it has an adequate budget, it should employ an information and research specialist. If funds for that purpose are not immediately available, a local or nearby college, public library or other institution may be a source of help. The process of planning the information program and of gathering, analyzing and disseminating the information is more useful if it is made a community enterprise. The Community Self Survey, conducted in many cities under the guidance of the Race Relations Department, American Missionary Society of Fisk University, is one good device for such a community enterprise. The Human Relations Commission of Erie, Pennsylvania, completed such a survey in 1963, with assistance from the Department of Sociology of Gannon College. Care should be taken, however, not to overplan such a survey and thus prolong its completion. A series of shorter term, more manageable projects is advisable.

The agency should issue an information pamphlet about itself, what it is, and what services it supplies. While it may stock and supply items of hortatory literature issued by religious and civil rights groups, its own moral exhortations should be kept at a minimum. It can invest its time and money better in sound informational materials concerning specific problems and solutions, and by so doing, will increase its influence within the entire community.

EMERGENCY PLANNING

While the agency has a long-range job ahead of it which requires long-term planning, it is likely to be confronted with immediate problems that are dividing the community. The issues will vary from city to city. Perhaps civil rights groups have been demonstrating against alleged practices of police brutality, employment discrimination or school segregation. Or perhaps a general state of tension exists which may explode into violence at any time.

The agency must quickly establish its leadership role. If it pleads that it is unprepared to act, it may forfeit the confidence of the community. However, it must act wisely. This will be a major test. Its future success will depend upon its handling of such crises.

Tension and conflict boil over in a vacuum. The press and other mass media, the responsible civic leadership, those who are discontent, and even those who are bitter or resistant to change, are usually favorably impressed when an official agency of government indicates its concern, offers citizens an opportunity to be heard, and gives serious attention to what they have to say. The agency should not take sides with particular groups or parochial views. It should not hesitate to take a position after evaluating the facts, but the community should know that the viewpoint is the committee's own.

The process of consultation is, in itself, an effective means for reducing tensions in an emergency period, and—assuming that the forces of law and order are functioning fairly and effectively—it may be the only useful thing to do at such a time. However, consultation constitutes no more than an entry into a problem and does not usually affect the underlying causes. The committee must move on from there.

The agency should seek solutions to problems based upon sound principles of law, justice, and social and economic need. While its immediate assumption of leadership is essential, it must avoid undue expediency. It should not hesitate to place responsibility for appropriate action upon the constituted authorities of government and business. It must early achieve a reputation for being an umpire who "calls them straight."

LONGER RANGE PLANNING

As early as possible after the establishment of machinery for supplying public information and meeting immediate emergencies, the agency should plan to build the foundations for permanent, wholesome patterns of race relations.

Each of several agencies has done this in its own way. No one particular program plan has proven better than others. A newly created agency, the Human Relations Commission of Topeka, Kansas, in planning for a committee structure, built into the structure a remarkably comprehensive program plan. It seems highly doubtful that a structure of 28 committees and subcommittees can function effectively. However, the plan is an extraordinary conçeptualization of both the problems and an approach to program. The plan, in abbreviated form, appears in Appendix C1.

The Commission on Human Relations in Philadelphia annually prepares and adopts a "statement of goals and objectives." The goals are long-range, broadly stated ideals that may be realistically unattainable; the objectives are specific, realistically attainable targets for the year. At the end of each year the Commission evaluates the results attained for each objective. A copy, in abbreviated form, appears in Appendix C2.

The annual reports of the several municipal agencies that have been in operation for several years will serve as useful references in program planning.

The principal elements which are likely to be found in the program plans of almost every agency are:

- Public education–schools
- Economic opportunity
- Housing and residential desegregation
- Community relations—the reduction of tensions, promotion of respect for law and order, and wholesome police-community relations
- Municipal policy and practices
- Public accommodations

LONG RANGE COMMUNITY PLANNING

It is apparent to all serious observers that the racial problems of the United States will demand attention for many decades to come. The problems of race are intricately intermeshed with the problems of the economic system, unemployment, poverty, limited cultural attainment, public education, mental health, slums, urban renewal and the like. There is growing awareness that cities must plan for people on a much larger scale than they ever have before. The planning process will be or should be broader than the concerns of the agency. However, the agency should be intimately involved. If it is not, both its own long-term program and the planning process will fall short of the city's needs.

If the larger community does not already engage in broad-scale, comprehensive planning for its economic base, for public education, training, health and welfare, recreation and cultural development, urban renewal and human relations, the agency should call upon the mayor and the leadership structure to move in that direction. If the community at large is not responsive to long-range social and economic planning, the agency still has its own responsibility to look ahead to the potential problems of five, ten and twenty-five years, and to consider programs to meet the challenges that are foreseen.

AGENCY AND STAFF ORGANIZATION

The agency will find it necessary to organize its board and staff into committees and/or divisions so that responsibility can be delegated and functions performed more efficiently.

Organizational structure will vary depending upon the powers and functions delegated by law or by mayor's executive order, the size of budget and staff, and related factors. Only the largest municipal agencies such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Detroit have budgets of such proportions that a staff organization chart is required.

While the staff organization of the larger agencies varies considerably as to detail, the following principal divisions are fairly standard:

- Information and Research
- Educational Program (i.e. community education programs to condition attitudes and behavior)
- Compliance (common to those agencies having power to administer fair practice laws)
- Community Relations (promoting intergroup communication, particularly at the neighborhood level, reducing tensions, improving police-community relations)
- Economic Opportunity
- Housing
- Schools

Nearly all of the boards and commissions have standing committees on procedural matters such as budget, personnel and public relations.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The more important aspect of agency organization is the structure through which it establishes communication with and among institutions, organizations, public officials and civic leaders. As has been stated in earlier sections, the essence of a good human relations program is communication among the many elements of the population, and the involvement and participation of all in a mutual process of problem solving.

All of the successful agencies do this in one way or another, but the devices used vary considerably. In Chicago and Kansas City the commissions have created a number of advisory committees on particular problems such as housing, employment, newcomers, schools, health, law and order. The advisory committee is usually chaired by a commission member and one or more commission members serve on each advisory committee. Most of the members of each advisory committee are drawn from the leadership of civic organizations. The committees meet three or four times per year, review specific aspects of the commission's program and make recommendations. The Community Organization Advisory Committee in Chicago has representatives from nearly all the neighborhood councils in the city.

The Detroit Commission does not have standing committees, but it does rely heavily upon *ad hoc* committees which are appointed to carry out specific tasks. In addition, the Detroit Commission sponsors a Coordinating Council for Education and Research in Human Relations. A great many civic, religious and labor groups are members of the Council and assign official delegates to it. The Council is autonomous and self-governed. The Commission supplies it with a secretariat and relies heavily upon the Council as a sounding board, as an avenue of communication and as a mobilizer of support for constructive programs·

The Human Relations Commission of Louisville, Kentucky, relies upon four categories of associated committees. In the first category are four committees on housing, employment, education, and public accommodation—concerned with the substantive problems of civil rights. Three committees on religious groups, institutions and agencies, and civic organizations bring representatives of all those groups into communication with the Commission and with each other. This builds support for the human relations program and stimulates the groups to pursue their own programs in human relations. A third group of committees—programming, legal and research—provide technical advice. In the fourth category is the communications committee. (See Appendix D.)

Some commissions, including the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations consider standing committees cumbersome, and prefer to communicate and work directly with community organizations as they already exist.

A WORD OF CAUTION ABOUT COMMITTEE STRUCTURE

Committees and organizational structures are means, not ends. Preoccupation with organizational structure is often a quagmire. Very often the creation of a committee is a method of disposing of a problem instead of solving it. Even well-educated and well-intentioned persons may not know how to move a committee toward a decision or the performance of specific tasks. Very few committees get work done unless the chairman, some member, or a staff assistant serves as the energizer and mover. If an agency develops a very large committee structure and has only a small staff, the staff becomes so burdened with servicing the committees that it can do no other work.

Standing committees can be especially cumbersome. Such committees often carry out a few initial tasks very well but lose their momentum in time and become a drag. It is not easy to discharge a standing committee of volunteers. There is much to be said in favor of *ad hoc* committees that are automatically discharged when their assignments are finished.

It is usually assumed that committees serve as channels of communication to the community at large. This should not be taken for granted. A great many people who attend committee meetings do not report back to their organizations unless specifically instructed to do so and then only if they are supplied with written materials and guidance.

The basic issue is not whether to have committees. The real question is: What are the best devices for reaching and involving a very large number of people from every section, every level, every cultural group? Committees are one device for reaching people—usually those who are already concerned and active in civic affairs. Many other devices must also be developed.

USES OF THE MASS MEDIA

Many government officials and civic leaders underestimate the task of communicating with the population. The most common error is to believe that "quiet, behind-the-scenes action" is better than open public debate and that it is safer to have word passed along through "responsible channels" such as cooperating organizations.

Actually, the informal channels of communication are extremely unreliable. The only reliable way to reach an appreciable number of people is through the press, radio and television. If factual information is regularly carried to the public through the media, the committee members and cooperating organizations are aided in their role as interpreters. Without the mass media, only a few of them will command attention.

Communicating as much as the local press and broadcasting media will carry with integrity is the wisest possible course, and the most efficient method of reaching the public. Those who fear that telling the public the facts of the situation and what is going on will stir up tension and possible conflict should know that misunderstanding, suspicion, and unlawful conspiracies fester in a vacuum. If a community is unaccustomed to public discussion of racial issues it is possible, of course, that there will be a stormy verbal response when the process is first introduced. This will normally be constructive since it will serve as a safety valve for those tensions that have been seething beneath the surface. Once the community becomes accustomed to having the facts publicized and the issues debated in the open, the process will become commonplace and the danger of physical violence is reduced.

It is important, however, that the local mass media should itself be responsibly managed and that the agency, public officials, and civic leadership learn how to work with and through the media toward constructive ends.

The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations sponsored a seminar on The Mass Media and Intergroup Relations in 1961. The managing editors and station managers of all the principal newspapers and radio and television stations met with representatives of civil rights and human relations organizations, and engaged in completely candid conversations over a period of several weeks. The two groups then jointly issued a set of useful "guidelines." (See Appendix E.)

FAILURE TO ENACT CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION WOULD CAUSE THE WORLD TO QUESTION THE REAL CONVICTIONS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. . . . IF THE REALITIES AT HOME ARE ALL THEY SHOULD BE, WE SHAN'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT OUR IMAGE ABROAD.

DEAN RUSK, SECRETARY OF STATE
JULY, 1963

VI
THE AGENCY WITHOUT BUDGET AND STAFF

This chapter is only a few paragraphs long. It might have been a subsection of the preceding chapter. It has been given a separate chapter heading so that it will not get lost in the rest of the text.

Much of what appears in Chapters Five and Seven implies the necessity of budget and staff. This has been done with deliberate intent. Those agencies which have survived and operated successfully for ten years or more have, with few or no exceptions, been those which have had at least a salaried executive.

Most cities take it for granted that lawyers, engineers, accountants, police, health and welfare officials must have special qualifications based upon training and experience, and that unless they are paid an appropriate salary or fee the quality and continuity of their services may not meet the standards essential for the public welfare.

The problems of intergroup and race relations in our urban centers today are too complex and enduring to remain the part-time domain of even the best-intentioned and wise volunteers. As much of the citizenry as possible must be involved on a volunteer basis in the process; but day-to-day planning and continuity should be under the direction of a competent, salaried person, skilled in community-organization techniques.

However, it is better to operate voluntarily than not at all. It is almost an axiom in community relations that every little bit is better than nothing at all. Each expression of concern; each time a group of persons of the several racial, ethnic and religious groups assemble together and reach out toward mutual understanding is another positive and forward step has been taken.

Every movement must start somewhere. Even the agencies in the largest cities with annual budgets of a quarter of a million dollars or more started with volunteers. In small cities it may be entirely possible to sustain a program over an extended period of time on a purely volunteer basis.

No special suggestions or instructions need be written for the unstaffed agency. What is contained in this guide should be as useful to the volunteer as to the professional executive. The volunteer agency would probably operate on a more limited scale. That would be the principal distinction between the volunteer and staffed agency.

ONE OF THE PRIMARY TASKS FACING THE U.S. IS DRIVING PREJUDICE OUT OF THE HUMAN HEART AS RAPIDLY AS WE ARE LEARNING TO DRIVE MEN INTO OUTER SPACE.
GOVERNOR WILLIAM W. SCRANTON (REPUBLICAN-PENNSYLVANIA)
SPEECH AT GETTYSBURG, 1963

VII

SPECIFIC PROBLEMS AND SPECIFIC PROGRAMS

The general anatomy of the racial problem is much the same for all cities. There will be many variations related to size of community, relative size of racial minority, recency of migration, the general economic health of the region, and the like. Each aspect of the problem is intricately bound up with others. A program to solve one aspect of the total problem will have limited value if other aspects are not treated simultaneously. Nevertheless, the total problem is too complex to be dealt with in a single program. Each aspect must be analyzed and understood and specific programs undertaken for each.

The eventual goal is to develop a comprehensive program equal to the problem. However, a newly created committee should avoid an overly complex program. Each program should be well underway before the next one is begun.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

The most important single element for the peace and well-being of any community is its economy. If all or nearly all those of employable age and health have gainful employment, the community is well on its way to solving its other problems. If the hiring and advancement is governed by merit rather than favoritism and discrimination, the community is very far advanced. If the morale of all the people is high, if there is both equal opportunity, and an eagerness to learn and apply new skills, the community is fortunate.

If, on the other hand, the economy is sluggish; if unemployment is high; if some elements of the community are favored and others discriminated against; if skill levels are low and facilities for training are non-existent or inadequate; if large numbers are unresponsive to opportunity; then, the whole community suffers. And the potential for disorder, tension and conflict, organized protests, and general turmoil will rise.

Very few communities, if any, are so fortunate that economic opportunity is not a problem. The human relations agency has a major responsibility to work toward equal opportunity, to remedy existing inequalities based upon race, and to find ways to overcome the inequities that are a legacy of past history.

The agency should not expect to do the job alone. Other groups in the community should be working actively to advance the general economy so there are jobs enough to go around, and to provide for training facilities and programs. If there are no groups engaged in those broader concerns, the committee should talk to the mayor and other governmental, business and civic leadership about starting such activity. *The concern for promoting equality of opportunity must be intimately geared into a broad-gauged concern for overall economic development.* The former is an integral part of the latter. Significant advances cannot be made in one without the other.

The agency should avoid the pitfall of assuming, however, that prosperity and full employment is the only key to solving inequality, or that the inequities automatically disappear with full employment. Full employment is rarely achieved. Even in a period when there were extreme labor shortages, as in World War II, there were many barriers to job advancement for Negroes. Most agencies will be faced with the challenge of equalizing opportunities for Negroes while some, or many, whites are unemployed.

In many states and in some cities there are fair employment laws with commissions empowered to receive, investigate, conciliate and adjudicate complaints. Where states have pre-empted this function, the city committees are usually barred from functioning as the complaint agency. Fair employment laws have amply demonstrated their value. City agencies, in states where such laws have not been adopted, will probably wish to press for similar legislation.

It has become quite evident, however, that fair employment practice laws alone fall far short of assuring genuine equality of opportunity.

A comprehensive strategy needs to be planned and set into motion. A special committee, consisting of employers, educators, employment service officials, and spokesmen for the Negro community must plan together to advance the economy, study manpower needs, engage in special recruiting drives, and set up special on-the-job training programs. The final test is a simple one: Are Negroes, in steadily increasing numbers, being employed, trained and upgraded? Is the gap of inequality being steadily narrowed?

While the comprehensive program is being mapped out, the agency can take the following immediate steps:

- a. With the support of the Mayor, make sure that all hiring, training, upgrading and work assignments within the city government, and all of its departments, agencies, and bureaus is conducted on a merit basis according to qualifications, without reference to color or ancestry; and remedy past practices of discrimination with special measures.

■ b. Communicate with and set up the liaison and machinery for full cooperation with all other units of government, including:

Public schools
Agencies of state government
State Fair Employment Commission
Agencies of federal government
President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity

While these agencies are not subject to the jurisdiction of a municipal commission, a great deal can be done through joint investigation, education and negotiation to promote full equality of opportunity.

■ c. Establish regular consultation on either a formal or informal basis with the intergroup relations officers of the principal procurement agencies of the Defense Department, Atomic Energy Commission, National Aeronautics and Space Agency, General Services Administration, Housing and Home Finance Agency and others to assure effective local application of Presidential Executive Orders No. 10925 and No. 11114. Ask the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity for information and assistance.

■ d. Call upon each of the utility companies serving the area to designate a high-level administrative officer to serve as liaison with the agency for a review of employment policies and procedures. Utility companies, by their nature, have a special responsibility to assure full equality of opportunity.

■ e. Establish early consultation with the manufacturers and retailers of consumer products and services, such as petroleum, bakery goods, dairy products, beverages, chain stores, department stores, banks and insurance companies. Firms doing business in these fields are especially sensitive to consumer pressures and anxious to resolve problems before they reach critical proportions.

■ f. Develop a carefully conceived procedure for bringing about fair and equitable practices among all private employers. Information, consultation and persuasion are the first steps. Assistance from federal government and state agencies, where government contract requirements or state laws are involved, are next steps. In other cases, investigations, public hearings and official findings and recommendations may be necessary.

■ g. Develop a special program for organized labor. Some labor unions have been strongly committed to fair practices and equal opportunity throughout their history. Others operate as tightly closed groups that control their membership to the exclusion of all–Negro and white alike–except those related to or especially sponsored by members. The agency should first establish a cooperative alliance among those unions that support its objectives. It should then use the devices of education, persuasion, investigation, administrative and legal pressures to eliminate union barriers to equal opportunity.

The Presidential Executive Orders can be used to advantage with labor unions, particularly where federal funds are being invested in construction projects.

■ h. Maintain a constant flow of information about employment opportunities. Groups that have been excluded from opportunity and are conditioned to expect rebuffs are usually not alert to new opportunities. They are likely to arrive late, after the jobs have been filled.

A very extensive program of training, guidance, information and referral is essential. The faculties and guidance staffs of high schools, fraternal and civic organizations, churches and social service agencies should be asked to participate in this process.

Agencies should avoid the pitfall that some fair employment practice commissions fell into in their first years of operation. Many believed that the principle of fair employment required a neutral and "color blind" policy that prohibited both discrimination against a person because of his color and any affirmative steps to overcome the psychological barriers that had crystallized through the years. Affirmative steps *must* be taken to break the log-jam of a hundred years of discrimination. Such steps are not "discrimination in reverse"; they are only steps to remedy the injury that has been done.

HOUSING

The racial housing problem in most cities has two principal facets: (a) A majority of Negro families have too little income and buying power to bargain effectively for decent housing, whether or not there is discrimination; and, (b) There is so much discrimination in the housing market that even those Negroes with adequate income are forced to accept houses within the framework of the existing or expanding racial ghetto. White people are not entirely exempt from these problems. Depending upon the locality, from 10 to 30 per cent of the white people also have insufficient income to bargain effectively for decent, quality housing.

While some Negroes have managed to establish fairly satisfactory housing for themselves, at least eighty per cent of the Negro population is so limited by income and discriminatory housing practices that they can exercise relatively little control over their environment and are trapped within the pattern of segregation and slum or near-slum conditions.

For those Negro families with adequate income the problem is more clearly one of discriminatory practices in housing, and the remedy lies in eliminating the discrimination. A second, closely related, factor is the hostility often demonstrated by white neighbors if the Negro family has succeeded in breaching the market restrictions.

A number of states and a few cities have adopted fair housing practices laws which prohibit sellers, managers and financing services from refusing to sell, rent or finance a home on the basis of race. On November 20, 1962, President Kennedy issued Executive Order 11063 which required that federal housing agencies take all appropriate legal and administrative measures to prevent discrimination in federally aided or assisted housing. These measures protect the right of a Negro family to obtain a home of its choice within the range of the housing that is covered by the laws and orders. (Practically all private housing existing before November 20, 1962, and all conventionally financed housing that came on the market after that date are exempt from the order. Most state fair housing laws exempt owner-occupied housing.)

The laws and orders do not require that sellers and managers of housing do anything affirmative to merchandise their wares to the Negro market. Moreover, the real estate brokers who handle the resale of homes in the marginal areas contiguous to the Negro ghetto *are* effectively and actively merchandising their products to the Negro market. All of these factors combined result in an extension of the ghetto and inhibit the forces that might lead to some redistribution of the Negro population into a more decentralized pattern.

The housing problem with respect to the lower income Negro family is even more complex. Such families can hope to obtain satisfactory housing only by (a) increasing their income; or, (b) obtaining publicly subsidized housing. With respect to the latter, in many (not all) cities the local housing authority participates in the segregating process by selecting sites in predominantly non-white areas; and, either deliberately or inadvertently, permitting the projects to be rented on a segregated basis. It seems unlikely that lower income Negroes can ever escape segregation except as local housing authorities deliberately use their programs as instruments of racial desegregation.

The municipal human relations committee is therefore confronted with three quite specific problems and objectives with respect to housing:

1. To promote equal opportunity and equal accessibility to housing accommodations for all people.
2. To increase the supply of new housing for low- and

middle-income groups, so located and managed that racial desegregation will result.

3. To plan for, and implement, a process of residential desegregation, and to prevent the further expansion of the racial ghetto.

These objectives require very comprehensive planning and a community-wide program involving the housing industry, religious and civic organizations, and neighborhood councils.

To be successful the program would have to include all of the following elements:

1. A campaign to promote fair, open market practices which might include:
    - a. A program for a fair housing practices law.
    - b. Full use of the provisions of Executive Order 11063.
    - c. Voluntary cooperation of real estate and home builders groups.
    - d. Organization of fair-housing councils.
    - e. A cooperatively operated real estate agency to handle unrestricted listings and sales if and when real estate brokers are unwilling to do so.
    - f. Educational programs under the auspices of religious and civic groups.
2. A program to stabilize racially changing neighborhoods so as to prevent further extension of the ghetto pattern.
3. Adoption of a policy and plan to utilize public housing and urban renewal programs as instruments for promoting desegregation.

Many of these suggestions may seem bold and controversial. The dilemma confronting the committee is that the alternative to such a bold program is the inevitable expansion and hardening of the racial ghetto pattern.

Community programs to stem neighborhood panic, to combat real estate exploitation and promote stable, racially inclusive neighborhoods have been conducted in many cities. Usually the programs have been under the auspices of private voluntary associations. However, they often have been fostered by the municipal human relations agency. The Detroit Commission on Community Relations provides guidance and assistance to a number of neighborhood councils. The Detroit City Council adopted an ordinance regulating real estate practices. The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee of Cincinnati has helped a number of neighborhood associations. Neighbor's Incorporated of Washington, D. C., and Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc., and West Mt. Airy Neighbors, Inc., in Philadelphia, are successful ventures in this field. The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations has produced special educational kits and film strips to promote the stabilization of racially-inclusive neighborhoods.

Attempts to slow down the pace of racial change and to promote stable, racially inclusive neighborhoods are unlikely to be successful, however, unless the opportunity for Negroes to move into a wide range of neighborhoods is presented. The expanding urban Negro population must live somewhere. More important than stabilization is the need to assure equal opportunity in the general housing market.

The state fair housing laws and the Presidential Executive Order mentioned above are steps in that direction. Religious and civic organizations all over the country are promoting programs for equal opportunity in housing. The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing lists 240 volunteer fair housing councils and committees in the nation. The President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing has launched a nationwide educational program and will welcome the opportunity to work with municipal human relations agencies. The Intergroup Relations Service of the Housing and Home Finance Agency has a staff of specialists who will be responsive to requests for assistance.

PUBLIC EDUCATION – SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Southern communities are confronted with the problem of changing from a *de jure* or legally established system of school segregation to an integrated or racially inclusive one. In larger Northern cities, school systems tend to be segregated on a *de facto* basis; i.e., as a result of the patterns of residential segregation.

There are two quite distinct legal issues:

> The courts have clearly established that a child cannot be *excluded* from a school because of his race, color or ancestry.
>
> The courts have not ruled that a school system must take affirmative steps to *include* children of various races in a school if the system of assigning pupils to schools is done without reference to race, color or ancestry.

There are many gradations between these rather clearly drawn distinctions. A school system that is affirmatively seeking, through creative means, to promote as much school integration as possible will find many opportunities to do so through strategic location of new schools, by expanding the facilities at strategically located existing schools, by recasting school boundaries, and the like. Some school systems have been known to camouflage their bias in favor of segregation by using equally strategic devices for preserving as much segregation as possible without admitting it.

In the case of New Rochelle, New York, the courts demonstrated that adherence to a traditional pattern of school segregation and failure to alter that pattern when planning for a new school constituted an act of *de jure* segregation.

Thus it appears that school authorities have a legal obligation to affirmatively seek all reasonable means for promoting school desegregation.

Many educators and psychologists are strongly persuaded that the cultural patterns which perpetuate the feelings of inferiority in Negro children, and negative and superior feelings in white children, cannot be altered within a framework of school segregation whether it is *de jure* or *de facto*. These observers contend that the entire concept of neighborhood schools should be abandoned in favor of a totally new system of school centers, to be attended by children of varied racial and cultural backgrounds.

Ingenious plans for assuring school integration have been successful in smaller cities where the racial concentrations have not reached massive proportions, e.g., the Princeton, N. J. plan. The problem is much more difficult in big cities such as New York, Chicago, or Washington, D. C.

There is much more at stake than the simple question of the physical presence of a child in either a segregated or integrated school. There can be little doubt that a school, characterized by such factors as a competent and dedicated, racially inclusive staff, an active group of concerned parents of both races and a racially integrated student body, would be educationally superior to almost any other school. It is not certain at all that a poorly managed school which is integrated would have any advantages over a segregated school.

The problems of education are too important and too complex for even superficial treatment in a guide book of limited length. Readers are urged to obtain and read the references listed on this subject in the Bibliography in Appendix F. The local agency should not be lulled into the sanguine assumption that all is well because local school authorities say there are no problems. It is doubtful that *any* school system has found satisfactory solutions to the problems, although some are doing better than others. The agency should be equally wary of narrowly conceived remedies, e.g., proposals for bussing children may achieve some physical relocation but that alone will not assure a better quality education.

POLICE, LAW AND ORDER, RACIAL TENSIONS

The problems of maintaining order and the conflicts and tensions that often characterize relationships between police and citizens, particularly Negro citizens, are symptoms of underlying causes. Unless the problems of employment, education, training, housing, etc., can be resolved and reduced, the problems of law and order and police-community relations will persist.

However, the hostility between Negro citizens and police is so deep-seated in some communities that, unless special measures are taken to promote understanding and cooperation, the attitudes will persist whether or not the underlying causes are removed. Also, even if the other cause factors cannot be affected in a short time, overt hostilities can be substantially reduced through appropriate measures.

There are several separate and distinct elements of tension-conflict, any of which may occur separately; or there may be combinations of two, three or more. The principal elements are:

1. White hostility and overt attacks upon Negroes. These usually occur when Negroes violate the status quo or normal pattern, e.g., when Negroes move into a formerly white neighborhood, when Negroes seek service in formerly "white only" facilities, when Negroes seek to vote or attend formerly "white" schools in communities where such forms of behavior are contrary to the established norm. White behavior is often overt, as a mob; or it may be covert as in hit and run vandalism, shooting, bombing or lynching.

2. Negro hostility and overt attacks upon whites. The Negro community has rarely acted as a mob in attacks upon whites. Attacks upon one or a few whites by roving gangs of Negro boys or young men are a common symptom of rising racial tensions which may reach riot proportions if some triggering incident occurs.

3. Police hostility, abuse and brutality toward Negroes countered by hostility, sullen unresponsiveness or open resistance toward police. If this pattern is prevalent, rioting against the police can be readily triggered by an incident. (Cause and effect become confused. It is rarely a simple case of initial misbehavior by either police or citizens producing an understandable or justifiable response. The usual pattern is a mounting series of incidents with rising feelings of injury, and a desire to get even.)

There has been a tendency among official human relations agencies and civic groups to launch specialized programs to treat one phase or another of the general problem; a police advisory or review board to investigate complaints of police brutality; a police human relations training program; a community tensions control program. Each of these has some value, but the results are likely to be disappointing if there is not a comprehensive approach to deal with the total problem.

As stated in Chapter Three, the first requirement for wholesome race relations is good local government. Where there is honest, capable, democratic, responsive government, there is likely to be an efficient, well-trained, fair police force; justice in the local courts; and general respect for the law and the forces of law and order. If the local government is weak or corrupt, the police will be weak and inefficient at best and may, themselves, be corrupt. In some cities the city administration and the police are well administered, but the lower judiciary is insensitive, inefficient or corrupt. This invariably leads to demoralization of the police.

In the absence of efficient and honest government and police administration, it will be extremely difficult to command the respect of those elements of the community that fall prey most readily to fear or demagoguery. A local human relations agency will be at severe disadvantage under such circumstances. This is not to say that any effort will fail. The agency must always do the best it can. This guide-book must necessarily assume that reasonably responsive and honest government prevails.

The municipal human relations agency should seek at all times to supply the forum through which fear, tension, misunderstanding, complaints and hostilities can be voiced, ventilated and resolved. It should also advise and assist the city administration and the police force with the objective of maintaining order, assuring due process of law, establishing justice, and promoting public confidence in and respect for the law.

The program must be comprehensive and continuous. It is never done. There is never a time when the danger of new misunderstandings and conflict is past. The program must reach all elements of the population; it must be dramatic enough to command attention and have depth enough to have meaning.

A community relations program to reduce tensions and to promote order and respect for the law will have many elements. Some of the most important might be:

■ 1. *A Police-Community Relations Program.*
To a large extent the police department must develop and conduct the program for itself. However, the human relations agency can supply the initiative and guidance. The police command should publicly announce its principal policies and orders, and interpret them to the community. The police commissioner and chief deputies should seek every opportunity to appear at meetings and before civic and religious gatherings, making sure to reach those groups that are farthest from the center of power and prestige.

Ministers, civic leaders, and any citizen or group of citizens with a concern or a complaint should be encouraged to come to the police headquarters or district station, be treated with courtesy, and have their complaints heard attentively.

A small group of police officers should be trained to appear in uniform at schools, recreation and civic centers, to speak to and show motion pictures to children concerning law and order, and to answer questions.

Groups of ministers and others can be encouraged to be present at police stations, and at magistrate's and police court hearings, particularly on weekends when many arrests for disorderly conduct occur.

■ 2. *Police Recruitment and Training.*
The police should set up standards of recruitment and a system of examination and psychological screening to assure recruitment of well qualified and emotionally stable officers. Police training should be comprehensive, embracing all aspects of police work. Such training should *include* training in human relations, but it should be much broader than that. Teaching an otherwise poorly trained officer how to deal with human relations problems is not likely to do much good.

Since most young officers are much more influenced by senior police officers than by initial training, it is usually necessary to start the training program with the top command, and to include the entire force in an in-service training program.

■ 3. *A Community Forum on Tensions.*
The human relations committee should establish a continuing forum for the airing of complaints, concerns and tensions. A special committee on community tensions, representative of the law-enforcement agencies, business, civic, religious, labor and minority group leadership should be appointed to conduct formal hearings, consider the information and make recommendations.

The committee should establish a few basic and firm rules to assure orderly meetings and hearings. With that assurance it should conduct many hearings in public although it should reserve the right, also, to meet in executive session. If it establishes a reputation for orderly deliberations and scrupulous fairness, it can command respect and exercise tremendous influence for the correction of misunderstandings and practices which do not readily fall into the arena of the formal procedures of the courts.

■ 4. *The Mass Media.*
It has been stated repeatedly through this manual that communication is the essence of wholesome community relations. The statements concerning the mass media in Chapter Five are especially pertinent here. Judicious candor with the press and other media will usually cultivate trust and respect. If candor is lacking the media and the public will sense that something is being hidden and suspicion will result. The mass media must be an ally, not an enemy.

■ 5. *Incident Control.*
As stated earlier, tensions and conflict generate in a vacuum; that is, in the absence of authority and official activity. In large and crowded cities, in particular, the potential for incidents of tension and conflict is extremely high. It is predictable that there will be

many incidents in any one day, especially at the end of each school day and on Friday and Saturday nights. The police can and should be trained and instructed to handle such incidents with fairness and firmness. They are the first line of prevention and cure.

However, the very fact that the police represent authority and force prevents them from bringing the underlying feelings and hostilities into the open, so they can be ventilated and resolved. It is extremely important that the human relations agency provide for prompt, on the spot attention and communication. This can be done best with a small, well-trained field staff. A team of volunteers can provide the same service, but it is difficult to sustain such a service on a voluntary basis for any length of time.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Thirty states have laws prohibiting discrimination on the basis of color, religion or ethnic origin. These laws have been widely ignored in those states where no provision has been made for enforcement by an administrative agency. A number of states have provided that the public accommodations law be administered by the State Commission on Human Rights (or the equivalent). New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Michigan are examples. Where this arrangement exists the operators of hotels, restaurants and places of amusement have been responsive to the law, and discriminatory practices are being discontinued.

The problem of discrimination in public accommodations differs in each of three types of situations:

In states where the public accommodations law is administered by an agency.

In states where there is a public accommodations law without provision for agency enforcement.

In states where no such law exists, and where custom and the dominant force of public opinion favor discrimination and/or separate service.

The approach must, of necessity, be different for each situation. If there is an adequate state law and a state administrative agency, appropriate notice and information should be directed to operators of establishments, to the public at large and to members of the minority groups. Minority group members should be encouraged to patronize various accommodations so that the public becomes accustomed to open service and general patronage. If, after these steps, there are occasional violations, complaints should be filed with the state agency.

Where the law is on the books but without provision for agency administration, the local agency should promote amendments to the law for adequate administration. In the meantime, the agency can promote its own program of education and persuasion, call upon religious and civic groups to help, encourage racially integrated groups to seek patronage at places that are thought to discriminate and assist in bringing action through the courts.

In those states where law and custom favor discrimination, the agency must proceed along different lines. It will be necessary to seek the support and assistance of the mayor and other public officials, the Chamber of Commerce or other business groups, and religious and civic groups to assure a broad base of agreement. Operators of center city and "prestige" establishments should be asked first to offer service to all, regardless of race, and the program extended from there.

The experience of recent years has demonstrated that discrimination in places of public accommodation is a major irritant, and that tension and violence have occurred most often in those communities where there was the most stubborn opposition to equal service. Responsible businessmen, civic leaders and governmental officials are generally aware of this fact.

THE BALLOT

The denial of voting privileges on the basis of race is clearly unconstitutional. The practice prevails in only a few states. The problem is primarily a legal one, requiring action by the attorneys general of the states and by the Federal Department of Justice. The issues are too technical to warrant treatment in a guidebook of this type. (See Vol. I—1961, United States Commission on Civil Rights.)

An issue of greater concern to most communities is the *use* of the vote by those who are not denied but are either uninformed or irresponsible as citizens. In the end, neither civil nor human rights are safe unless all qualified citizens are alert to their responsibilities, register to vote and vote intelligently.

A program to educate and motivate citizens to exercise their responsibilities should be a cornerstone of every human relations program, public or private, local or statewide.

This concept should be at the root of all human relations programs. Responsible citizenship is the foundation of democracy. Full rights and privileges of citizenship must be extended to all, but these rights and privileges have no meaning except as all citizens exercise them in a responsible and mature manner.

THE CONSTANT, UNREMITTING HUMILIATION WHICH IS SUFFERED BY THE NEGRO IN HIS COUNTRY — IN AMERICA — IS SOMETHING WHICH NO FREE MAN SHOULD BE EXPECTED TO TOLERATE.

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY (DEMOCRAT-MINNESOTA)
CONGRESS, SEPTEMBER 17, 1963

VIII

SUMMARY

The foregoing has been written to help public officials and civic leaders make a beginning. The greatest difficulty in writing a guide that has the virtue of brevity, is to decide what should be left out. The collective wisdom and experience of those agencies and organizations that have been working with growing success during the past twenty years would fill several volumes. A more comprehensive treatment of the subject is obviously in order.

A few final words, in summary, are necessary to the conclusion of this document.

There is a tendency in all fields of public endeavor to become preoccupied with organizational structure, with techniques and the survival and image of the institution or agency. The goal in urban human relations is a stable, prosperous, wholesome community, founded upon justice, equality and freedom. It is not to build another agency or to preserve one already established. The agency is a tool, a means to an end. The task cannot be undertaken without the tools and means, but there must always be a readiness to alter or exchange the tools for better ones if the task is not being done.

It is important, too, to use the tools toward constructive change, not to preserve the status quo. The United States can be proud of its heritage and of the tremendously challenging principles set forth in its Declaration of Independence, its Constitution and Bill of Rights. It has before it the task of living up to its principles. But there never has been a time when the United States could be proud of its management of race relations. There are no "good old days" to go back to; there are only new horizons to go forward to.

APPENDIX A
DIRECTORIES OF AGENCIES AND SOURCES OF ASSISTANCE

APPENDIX A1
FEDERAL

The United States Commission on Civil Rights (USCCR)
Washington 25, D. C.

Conducts studies and investigations on civil rights in the 50 states, publishes reports, makes recommendations for federal legislation and executive action. Will receive and refer inquiries on civil rights matters to appropriate federal agencies.

President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity (PCEEO)
Washington 25, D. C.

Responsible for the administration of Presidential Executive Orders 10925 and 11114 requiring equal employment opportunity in the performance of government contract work and on all projects receiving federal aid. Direct responsibility for compliance is exercised by each of the contracting agencies. For information contact PCEEO.

President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing (PCEOH)
Washington 25, D. C.

Responsible for the Administration of Presidential Executive Order 11063 requiring equal opportunity in the purchase, rental or financing of federally aided or assisted housing. Conducts educational programs at national level and assists in locally sponsored programs. Will receive and refer inquiries regarding equal opportunity in housing to appropriate federal agencies.

Housing and Home Finance Agency, Office of the Administrator
Intergroup Relations Service
Washington 25, D. C.

Coordinates the intergroup relations services of FHA, URA and PHA. Each of the programs has intergroup specialists in the regional offices to maintain liaison with and supply assistance to local public housing and urban renewal authorities and to local agencies generally with respect to federally aided or assisted housing.

APPENDIX A2
STATE HUMAN RIGHTS AGENCIES

EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATE AGENCIES IS ESTABLISHED BY LAW AND IS EMPOWERED TO ADMINISTER ONE OR MORE STATE LAWS PROHIBITING DISCRIMINATION IN ONE, TWO OR ALL THREE OF THE FOLLOWING: EMPLOYMENT, HOUSING, PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS. SOME OF THE LAWS ARE BROAD IN THEIR APPLICATION AND SOME VERY NARROW IN THEIR CONSTRUCTION. ALL ARE AUTHORIZED TO ENGAGE IN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS.

State Commission for Human Rights
P.O. Box 2141
Juneau, Alaska

California Fair Employment Practice Commission
455 Golden Gate Avenue
San Francisco 1, California

Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission
State Services Building
1525 Sherman Street
Denver 3, Colorado

Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights
92 Farmington Avenue
Hartford, Connecticut

Delaware State Human Relations Commission
801 Washington Street
Wilmington 1, Delaware

State Division Against Discrimination
Department of Labor and Industrial Relations
506 West 10th Street
Wilmington 1, Delaware

Hawaii Department of Labor and Industrial Relations
825 Mililani Street
Honolulu, Hawaii

Illinois Commission on Human Relations
Room 1832, State of Illinois Building
160 North LaSalle Street
Chicago, Illinois 606

Illinois Fair Employment Practices Commission
205 West Wacker Drive
Chicago, Illinois 606

Indiana Civil Rights Commission
State Office Building
Indianapolis, Indiana

State Commission on Human Rights
State Office Building
Des Moines, Iowa

Kansas Commission on Civil Rights
Room 1155, State Office Building
Topeka, Kansas

Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations
State Office Building
301 West Preston Street
Baltimore, Maryland

Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination
41 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Michigan Civil Rights Commission
900 Cadillac Square Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

Minnesota State Commission Against Discrimination
55 State Office Building
St. Paul 1, Minnesota

Missouri Commission on Human Rights
State Capitol Building
Jefferson City, Missouri

New Jersey State Division on Civil Rights
1100 Raymond Boulevard
Newark 5, New Jersey

New Mexico Fair Employment Practices Commission
Box 1726
Santa Fe, New Mexico

New York State Commission for Human Rights
270 Broadway
New York 7, New York

Ohio Civil Rights Commission
270 Parsons Avenue
Columbus, Ohio

RIGHTS
Oklahoma Human ~~Relations~~ Commission
Room 221, State Capitol
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
(Administers only state employment practices law.)

Oregon Bureau of Labor Civil Rights Division
1400 S. W. 5th Avenue
Portland, Oregon 97201

Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission
1401 Labor and Industry Building
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Rhode Island Commission Against Discrimination
Room 307, State House
Providence 2, Rhode Island

Washington State Board Against Discrimination
Room 206, Capitol Park Building
Olympia, Washington

Governor's Commission on Human Rights
415 N.W. State Capitol
Madison, Wisconsin

Fair Employment Practices Division Wisconsin Industrial Commission
New State Office Building
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

APPENDIX A3

SELECTED LIST OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT STAFFED AGENCIES

THE FOLLOWING IS A PARTIAL LIST OF CITY AND COUNTY HUMAN RELATIONS AGENCIES KNOWN TO EMPLOY A PROFESSIONAL STAFF. THOSE STARRED (*) ADMINISTER ORDINANCES PROHIBITING DISCRIMINATION.

Arizona

Tucson Commission on
Human Relations
134 West Council Street
Tucson, Arizona

California

Los Angeles County Commission
on Human Relations
220 North Broadway
Los Angeles 12, California

City and County of San Francisco
Commission on Human Relations
City Hall
San Francisco, California

**Human Relations Commission*
City Offices
San Jose, California

Colorado

**Denver Commission on*
Community Relations
260 West Side Annex Building
Denver 4, Colorado

Connecticut

**Hartford Commission on Civil Rights*
550 Main Street
Hartford, Connecticut

Human Rights Commission
City Hall
Stamford, Connecticut

District of Columbia

**Commissioners Council*
on Human Relations
208 District Building
Washington 4, D. C.

Florida

**Dade County Community*
Relations Board
County Court House
Miami, Florida

Illinois

**Chicago Commission on*
Human Relations
211 West Wacker Drive
Chicago, Illinois

East St. Louis Commission
on Human Relations
1602 Missouri Avenue
East St. Louis, Illinois

**Peoria Commission on*
Human Relations
Room 302, City Hall
Peoria, Illinois

**Springfield Human Relations*
Commission
206 Municipal Building
Springfield, Illinois

Indiana

**East Chicago Fair Employment*
Practices Commission
3405 Lincoln Street
East Chicago, Indiana

**Evansville Commission on*
Human Relations
City Hall
Evansville, Indiana

**Gary Fair Employment Practices*
Commission
City Hall
Gary, Indiana

**Indianapolis Commission on*
Human Rights
City-County Building
Indianapolis, Indiana

**South Bend Fair Employment*
Practices Commission
226 West Colfax Avenue
South Bend, Indiana

Iowa

**Des Moines Commission on*
Human Rights and Job Discrimination
Armory Building
East First and Des Moines Streets
Des Moines, Iowa

Kansas

Topeka Human Relations Commission
City Hall
Topeka, Kansas

Wichita Commission on
Human Relations
104 South Main Street
Wichita, Kansas

Kentucky

**The Louisville Commission on*
Human Relations
Room 101 F, Mayor's Suite
City Hall
Louisville, Kentucky

Maryland

**Baltimore Equal Employment*
Opportunity Commission
Peoples Court Building
Fayette and Gay Streets
Baltimore 2, Maryland

Massachusetts

Mayor's Committee on
Civic Improvement
City Hall
Boston, Massachusetts

Mayor's Committee on
Human Relations
City Hall
Springfield, Massachusetts

Michigan

**Ann Arbor Human Relations*
Commission
City Hall
Ann Arbor, Michigan

**City of Detroit Commission*
on Community Relations
1106 Water Board Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

**Human Relations Commission*
City Hall
Grand Rapids, Michigan

Community Relations Board
241 West South Street
Kalamazoo, Michigan

The Human Relations Commission
City Hall Annex
Saginaw, Michigan

Minnesota

**Fair Employment Practices*
Commission
250 South Fourth Street
Minneapolis 1, Minnesota

**Fair Employment Practice*
Commission
1745 City Hall
St. Paul 2, Minnesota

Missouri

**Commission on Human Relations*
25th Floor, City Hall
Kansas City, Missouri

**Council on Human Relations*
Municipal Court Building
1320 Market Street
St. Louis, Missouri

New Jersey

Newark Human Rights Commission
City Hall
Newark, New Jersey

Commission on Human Relations
City Hall Annex
Paterson 1, New Jersey

Trenton Council on Human Relations
142 West State Street
Trenton 8, New Jersey

New York

Board of Community Relations
1502 City Hall
Buffalo 2, New York

New Rochelle Human Relations
Commission
City Hall
New Rochelle, New York

**City of New York*
Commission on Human Rights
80 Lafayette Street
New York 13, New York

Monroe County Commission on
Human Rights
70 North Water Street
Rochester 4, New York

Mayor's Commission on
Human Rights
City Hall
Syracuse, New York

Ohio

**Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee*
105 City Hall
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

**Community Relations Board*
320 C.T.S. Building
1404 East 9th Street
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Community Relations Department
City Hall
Columbus, Ohio

Human Relations Commission
City Hall
Dayton, Ohio

**Board of Community Relations*
565 North Erie Street
Toledo 2, Ohio

**Fair Employment Practice Commission*
City Hall
Youngstown, Ohio

Pennsylvania

**Community Relations Commission*
606 Commerce Building
Erie, Pennsylvania

**City of Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations*
625 City Hall Annex
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

**Commission on Human Relations*
518 City County Building
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Rhode Island

Human Relations Commission
City Hall
Providence, Rhode Island

Washington

Seattle Human Rights Commission
Seattle Municipal Building
Seattle, Washington

Wisconsin

**Milwaukee Commission on Human Relations*
706 City Hall
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

APPENDIX A4

SELECTED LIST OF CITIES THAT HAVE ESTABLISHED COMMITTEES

(EXCLUDING THOSE LISTED PREVIOUSLY)

Alabama
Mobile

California
Arcadia
Bakersfield
Fresno
Inglewood
Long Beach
Modesto
Monterey Park
National City
Oxnard
Palo Alto
Pasadena
Pomona
Richmond
Riverside
Sacramento
San Bernardino
San Diego
Santa Ana

Colorado
Boulder

Connecticut
Middletown
New Britain

Florida
Clearwater
Fort Lauderdale
Pensacola
Sarasota
St. Petersburg
West Palm Beach

Georgia
Atlanta

Illinois
Alton
Aurora
Bloomington
Champaign
Chicago Heights
Decatur
Moline
Park Ridge
Rock Island
Skokie

Indiana
Elkhart
Fort Wayne

2

Iowa
Council Bluffs
Davenport
Iowa City
Ottumwa
Sioux City

Kansas
Kansas City

Kentucky
Lexington
Owensboro
Paducah

Louisiana
Baton Rouge

Massachusetts
Newton
Worcester

Michigan
Battle Creek
Jackson
Lansing
Oak Park
Port Huron
Roseville
Wyandotte

Montana
Billings

Missouri
Columbia
Springfield
St. Joseph
University Park

Nebraska
Lincoln

Nevada
Las Vegas

New Jersey
Belleville
East Orange
Elizabeth
Jersey City
Montclair
Perth Amboy
Plainfield

New Mexico
Albuquerque

New York
Niagara
Rome
Schenectady

North Carolina
Asheville
Charlotte
Gastonia
Greensboro
Rocky Mount
Winston-Salem

Ohio
Canton
East Cleveland
Lima
Middleton
Sandusky
Zanesville

Oklahoma
Oklahoma City
Tulsa

Pennsylvania
Allentown
Chester
Harrisburg

South Carolina
Charleston

South Dakota
Rapid City
Sioux Falls

Tennessee
Chattanooga
Nashville

Texas
Beaumont
Corpus Christi
Dallas
Fort Worth
Galveston
Grand Prairie
Lubbock
San Antonio
Tyler

Virginia
Lynchburg
Norfolk
Richmond
Roanoke

Washington
Spokane
Tacoma
Vancouver

West Virginia
Wheeling
Parkersburg

Wisconsin
Beloit
Kenosha
Madison
Racine

APPENDIX A5

NATIONAL PRIVATE AGENCIES

THIS IS A PARTIAL LIST OF VOLUNTARY, PRIVATE CIVIL RIGHTS AND HUMAN RELATIONS AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS, MANY OF WHICH CHARTER LOCAL BRANCHES OR MAINTAIN LOCAL OR REGIONAL OFFICES. ALL OF THEM WILL RESPOND TO REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION AND MANY OF THEM OFFER ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE.

AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
Community Relations Program
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Jewish Labor Committee
25 East 78th Street
New York 21, New York

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing
426 West 58th Street
New York 19, New York

National Community Relations Advisory Council
55 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

National Conference of Christians and Jews
43 West 57th Street
New York 19, New York

National Council of Churches
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

National Urban League, Inc.
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

Negro American Labor Council
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Potomac Institute
1501 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

APPENDIX B
MODEL ORDINANCE

(THE ORDINANCE BELOW IS INCLUDED HERE AS AN EXAMPLE BECAUSE IT IS THE MOST COMPLETE OF MORE THAN TWO DOZEN REVIEWED, EXCEPT FOR THOSE ORDINANCES PROHIBITING DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT AND/OR HOUSING. FOR EXAMPLES OF THE LATTER, ADDRESS INQUIRIES TO THE AGENCIES IN CLEVELAND, OHIO; ERIE, PENNSYLVANIA; NEW YORK, NEW YORK; PHILADELPHIA OR PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA.)

(Published in the Topeka State Journal, August 15, 1963.)

ORDINANCE NO. 11047

AN ORDINANCE creating a Human Relations Commission for the City of Topeka, Kansas, to consist of twenty members, to be appointed by the Mayor, to serve without compensation, one of whom shall be designated by the Mayor as its chairman, defining the purposes and duties of the commission and objectives sought to be accomplished, and providing for organization and plan operations of the commission.

BE IT ORDAINED BY THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE CITY OF TOPEKA, KANSAS:

Section 1. Policy: In the City of Topeka, Kansas, with its population consisting of people of every race, color, creed, national origin and ancestry, there is no greater danger to the health, morals, safety and welfare of the city and its inhabitants than the existence of groups prejudiced against one another and antagonistic to each other because of differences of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry. The Board of Commissioners hereby finds and declares that acts of prejudice, intolerance, bigotry, and discrimination and disorder occasioned thereby threaten the rights and proper privileges of its inhabitants and menace the institutions and foundations of a free democratic state. A commission is hereby created through which the City of Topeka, Kansas, officially may encourage and bring about mutual understanding and respect among all groups in the city, eliminate prejudice, intolerance, bigotry, discrimination and disorder occasioned thereby and give effect to the guarantee of equal rights for all assured by the constitution and the laws of this state and of the United States of America.

Section 2. Definitions – As used in this ordinance:

(a) "Discrimination" shall mean any difference in treatment based on race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry and shall include segregation, except that it shall not be discrimination for any religious or denominational institution to devote its facilities, exclusively or primarily, to or for members of its own religion or denomination or to give preference to such members or to make such selection as is calculated by such institution to promote the religious principles for which it is established or maintained.

(b) "Religious or denominational institution" shall mean an institution which is operated for religious purposes or is operated, supervised or controlled by a religious or denominational organization.

Section 3. Human Relations Commission: There is hereby created a Human Relations Commission for the City of Topeka, Kansas. It shall consist of twenty members, serving without compensation, to be appointed by the Mayor with approval of the Board of Commissioners, one of whom shall be designated by the Mayor as its chairman at the organizational meeting and at each annual meeting thereafter. Ten [members] of said commission shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. Of the twenty members first appointed, six shall be appointed for one year, seven for two years and seven for three years; thereafter all appointments to the commission shall be for a term of three years. Any member may be removed by the Mayor for failure to attend meetings or inattention to duties. In the event of the death, resignation or removal of any member, his successor shall be appointed by the Mayor to serve for the unexpired period of the term for which such member had been appointed, provided, however, that all members shall continue in office until their successors shall have been appointed.

Section 4. Officers-Committees: How Chosen–The commission at its organizational meeting and each annual meeting thereafter shall elect from its membership a vice-chairman; a second vice-chairman; and a secretary. The chairman, vice-chairman, second vice-chairman, and secretary shall have and perform such duties as are commonly associated with their respective titles. The officers of the commission shall be and constitute the executive committee of the commission which shall exercise such powers of the commission between its regular meetings as may be authorized by the commission. The commission shall be further authorized to appoint and fix the membership of such number of standing and temporary committees as it may find expedient for the performance of its duties.

Section 5. Meetings: Regular and Special – The Human Relations Commission shall meet at least once each month at such time and place as shall be fixed by the commission by its standing rules. Special meetings shall be called by the chairman, or in his absence by the ranking vice-chairman, or upon the written request of any two (2) members of the executive committee, or upon the written request of a majority (10 members) of said commission. All such requests shall state the purpose or purposes for which such special meeting is to be called, and shall be filed with the secretary at least 24 hours before the time of the special meeting so called and authorized. Such request and call for a special meeting shall be read at the meeting and entered in the minutes, and no business shall be transacted except that stated in the request for such special meeting. The commission shall prepare its own agenda for all meetings and establish its own rules of order or adopt Roberts Rule of Order for the conduct of their meetings.

Section 6. Functions–The functions of the commission shall be:

(a) To foster mutual understanding and respect among all racial, religious and ethnic groups in the City of Topeka, Kansas;

(b) To encourage equality of treatment for and prevent discrimination against any racial, religious or ethnic group or its members;

(c) To cooperate with governmental and non-governmental agencies and organizations having like or kindred functions; and

(d) To make such investigations and studies in the field of human relations as in the judgment of the commission will aid in effectuating its general purposes.

Section 7. Powers and Duties – The powers and duties of the commission shall be:

(a) To work together with federal, state and city agencies in developing courses of instruction, for presentation to city employees and in public and private schools, public libraries, museums and other suitable places, on techniques for achieving harmonious intergroup relations within the City of Topeka, Kansas.

(b) To enlist the cooperation of the various racial, religious and ethnic groups, community organizations, labor organizations, fraternal and benevolent associations and other groups in Topeka, Kansas, in programs and campaigns devoted to eliminating group prejudice, intolerance, bigotry and discrimination;

(c) To study and make recommendations concerning the problems and prejudice, intolerance, bigotry and discrimination and disorder occasioned thereby in all or any fields of human relationship;

(d) To receive and investigate complaints and to initiate its own investigations of (1) racial, religious and ethnic group tensions, prejudice, intolerance, bigotry and disorder occasioned thereby; (2) discrimination against any person, group of persons, organization or corporation, whether practiced by private persons, associations, or corporations and when it is found that such discrimination is within the jurisdiction of the Kansas Commission on Civil Rights it shall be referred to that commission;

(e) To hold hearings, request the attendance of witnesses, take the testimony of any person under oath and in connection therewith to require the production of any evidence relating to any matter under investigation or in question before the commission. No public hearing shall be held without written approval of the Mayor and the Board of City Commissioners. The powers enumerated in this sub-section may be exercised by any group of three or more members of the commission when so authorized in writing by the commission. The commission after the completion of any hearing, shall make a report in writing to the Mayor setting forth the facts found by it and its recommendations. If the commission finds that there has been a violation of an existing ordinance it shall recommend to the Mayor that he refer said matter to the Legal Department for appropriate legal action. If the commission finds that there is no existing ordinance that prohibits such discrimination, it shall recommend to the Mayor that an ordinance be enacted by the Board of Commissioners prohibiting such discrimination. At any hearing before the commission or any committee thereof a witness shall have the right to be advised by counsel present during such hearings;

(f) To issue publications and reports of investigations and research designed to promote good will and to minimize or eliminate prejudice, intolerance, bigotry, discrimination and disorder occasioned thereby;

(g) The commission may appoint an executive secretary and other necessary staff, and provide such compensation for their services as may be authorized by the Board of Commissioners and by the annual city budget of expenditures;

(h) To recommend to the Mayor and to the Board of Commissioners legislation to aid in carrying out the purposes of this ordinance;

(i) To submit an annual report to the Mayor and Board of Commissioners.

Section 8. Relations with City Departments and Agencies—So far as practicable and subject to the approval of the Mayor and the Board of City Commissioners, the services of all other city departments, agencies, and commissions shall be made available by their respective heads to the commission for the carrying out of the functions herein stated. The head of any department, agency, or commission shall furnish information in the possession of such department, agency or commission when the commission, after consultation with the Mayor and Board of Commissioners, so requests. The City Attorney may assign counsel to assist the commission in the conduct of its investigation or hearings.

Section 9. Severability—If any section of this ordinance be held to be unconstitutional or otherwise invalid by any court of competent jurisdiction, then such section shall be considered separately and apart from the remaining provision of this ordinance, said section to be completely severable from the remaining provisions of this ordinance and the remaining provisions of this ordinance shall remain in full force and effect.

Section 10. This ordinance shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage, approval and publication in the official city newspaper.

PASSED AND APPROVED by the Board of Commissioners, August 6, 1963.

ATTEST:

____
Mayor

____
City Clerk

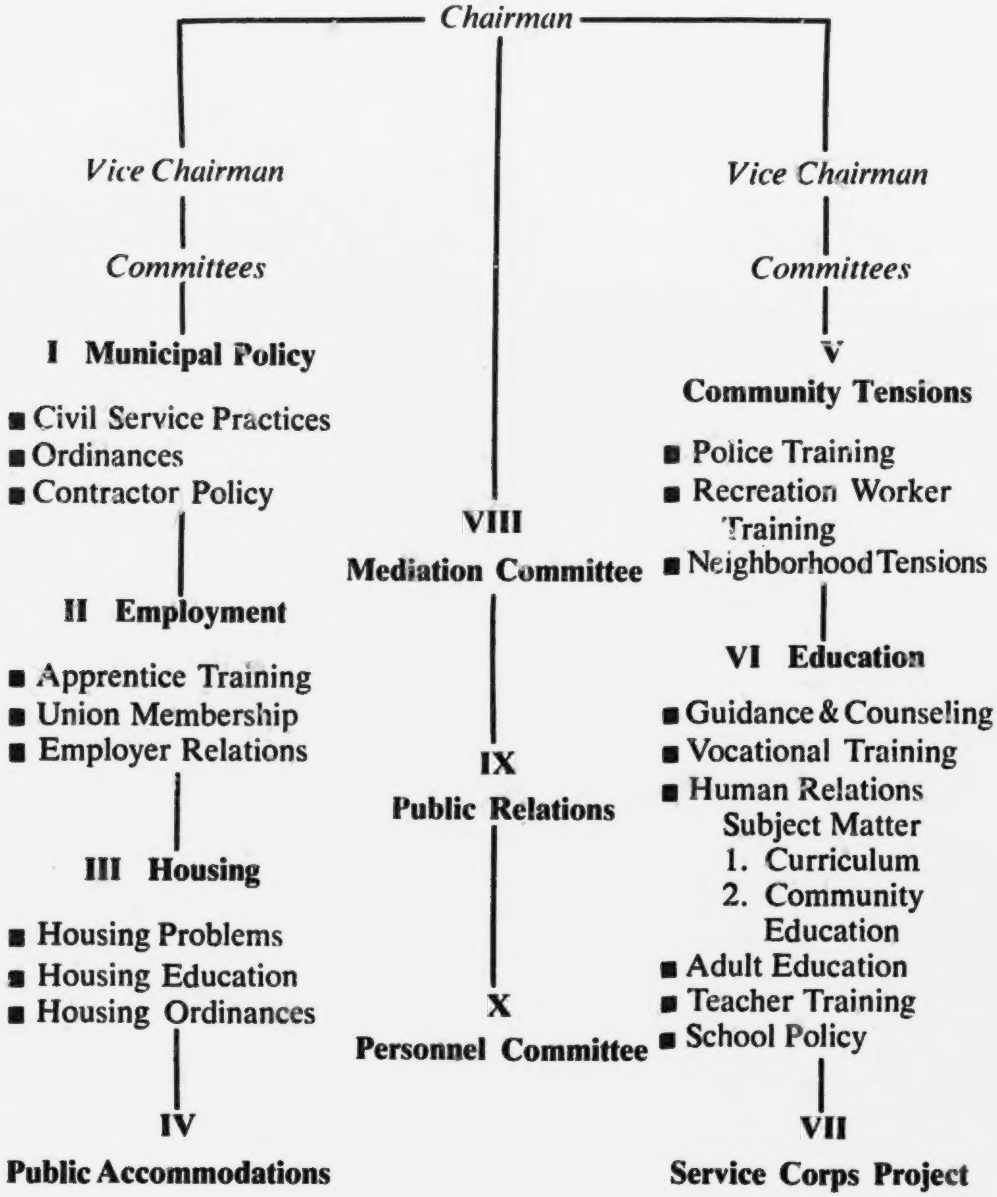
The final vote on this ordinance is recorded at Page ____ Journal ____.

APPENDIX C 1
PROGRAM PLANNING / MODEL COMMITTEE STRUCTURE

THE FOLLOWING IS PRESENTED AS AN EXAMPLE OF AN APPROACH TO PROGRAM PLANNING. A COMMITTEE STRUCTURE AS ELABORATE AS THIS REQUIRES EXTENSIVE STAFF SERVICES. WITHOUT STAFF SERVICE THE STRUCTURE WILL PROBABLY FALL OF ITS OWN WEIGHT. HOWEVER, IT REPRESENTS A PARTICULARLY COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO THE TOTAL PROBLEM AND MIGHT SERVE MANY COMMUNITIES AS A MODEL.

TOPEKA HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION

Committee Structure



Chairman

Vice Chairman

Committees

I Municipal Policy

- Civil Service Practices
- Ordinances
- Contractor Policy

II Employment

- Apprentice Training
- Union Membership
- Employer Relations

III Housing

- Housing Problems
- Housing Education
- Housing Ordinances

IV

Public Accommodations

VIII

Mediation Committee

IX

Public Relations

X

Personnel Committee

Vice Chairman

Committees

V

Community Tensions

- Police Training
- Recreation Worker Training
- Neighborhood Tensions

VI Education

- Guidance & Counseling
- Vocational Training
- Human Relations Subject Matter
  1. Curriculum
  2. Community Education
- Adult Education
- Teacher Training
- School Policy

VII

Service Corps Project

I Municipal Policy Committee

Function: To evolve and formulate municipal policy recommendations for the action of the commission as an agency of the City Commission.

- *Civil Service Practices Subcommittee*
  Function: To review City Civil Service practices, to work toward elimination of discrimination in these practices.
- *Ordinances Subcommittee*
  Function: To study the need for and evolve such ordinances as may be necessary to implement the non-discrimination policies of the City Commission, including those ordinances which may be required to raise the living standards of people but which by themselves do not necessarily relate specifically to discrimination, *e.g.,* sanitation or public safety ordinances to remove disadvantages in housing or protection of minority groups.
- *Contractor Policy Subcommittee*
  Function: To review city contracts; to make certain contractors are fulfilling a non-discrimination policy; to investigate complaints of such non-fulfillment; to recommend actions to implement a non-discrimination policy.

II Employment Committee

Function: To review employment problems of minority group members; to encourage equal opportunity in employment and to work toward elimination of discriminatory barriers to employment.

- *Apprentice Training Subcommittee*
  Function: To review and investigate apprentice training programs, to assure that adequate opportunities are provided in such programs for minority group members.
- *Union Membership Subcommittee*
  Function: To review and investigate union membership policies and practices, to assure that union membership is open to minority group members.
- *Employer Relations Subcommittee*
  Function: To review and investigate employer policies and practices, to assure equal employment opportunities in Topeka businesses; to obtain pledges of employers

of fair employment practices and to open employer opportunities for minority group students to enable them to participate in vocational education programs.

III Housing Committee

Function: To review and investigate housing problems of minority groups, and to make recommendations for the action of the commission as an agency of the City Commission.

- *Housing Problems Subcommittee*
  Function: To study the housing problems of minority groups and to report periodically on the findings of such studies.
- *Housing Education Subcommittee*
  Function: To gather and organize information about the economic impact of minority group movement into previously all-white housing areas; to publicize this information in the community; to inform neighborhoods of successful neighborhood integration practices which avoid panic and block-busting.
- *Housing Ordinances Subcommittee*
  Function: To review policies and practices of realtors and lending agencies; to negotiate changes in these policies and practices to eliminate discrimination; to recommend necessary ordinances to assure open occupancy, and particularly that any Topeka citizen may buy or rent a home without discrimination.

IV Public Accommodations Committee

Function: To investigate, study and report on minority problems in public accommodations to include hotels, motels, restaurants, taverns, places of amusement, personal service, worship, and recreation.

V Community Tensions Committee

Function: To evolve ways and means of anticipating, preparing for and relieving community tensions arising from racial and religious differences.

- *Police Training Subcommittee*
  Function: To evolve a training program for the Police Department to prepare officers to deal with demonstration and conflict situations in the most constructive ways.
- *Recreation Worker Training Subcommittee*
  Function: To evolve a training program for recreation workers in community agencies to prepare such workers to

understand better, and work with minority group children to expand their participation in community recreation programs.

- *Neighborhood Tensions Subcommittee*

  Function: To enter neighborhoods where neighborhood protective associations have been formed to resist integration and by conciliation to lower such resistance; to help prepare a neighborhood when a minority group member moves in to avoid tension; to negotiate and conciliate in neighborhoods when tension arises upon the entrance of a minority group member.

VI Education Committee

Function: To study, formulate, recommend, and encourage the development of educational policies and practices calculated to increase the educational opportunities of minority group members.

- *Guidance and Counseling Subcommittee*

  Function: To study present guidance programs in the schools, to recommend a comprehensive guidance program for minority group children and adults calculated to inventory and assess assets and limitations as a precondition for upgrading training and job placement, and for determining what kinds of training opportunities may be necessary.

- *Vocational Training Subcommittee*

  Function: To study and recommend improvements in the vocational education program to enhance vocational training opportunities for minority group members, particularly high school students.

- *Human Relations Subject Matter*

  Function: To develop and implement human relations courses and programs for schools, churches and community education.

- *Curriculum Subcommittee*

  Function: To develop curriculum materials in human relations for public and parochial schools.

- *Community Education Subcommittee*

  Function: To develop and implement human relations education in community civic clubs, news and feature media, churches and other public media.

- *Adult Education Subcommittee*

  Function: To determine the need for, and develop accelerated vocational training programs for adult minority group members to prepare them for available job opportunities.

- *Teacher Training Subcommittee*
  Function: To develop and implement programs to help teachers better understand the problems of minority group students and ways of combatting prejudice in the classroom.
- *Public School Policy*
  Function: To review public school policy with respect to placement, facilities, employment, advancement and effectiveness of teaching of minority group members.

VII Service Corps Project

Function: To determine the need for, organize and develop programs manned by volunteer youth to further the development of skills, interests, participation in recreation, and identification with opportunity. Such programs might include choral and instrumental music groups, theater groups, tutorial groups in school subjects, work service groups to aid individuals and communities in distress as in tornado emergencies, and other forms of small group activities which will take place in the neighborhood in which children live. Locations might be in churches, schools, homes or whatever facilities can be managed. Groups should be small enough to provide personal relationships with the group leader and must be carried on consistently over an extended period of time. The model here is the Peace Corps. The fundamental goal is to encourage hope and to awaken aspiration.

VIII Mediation Committee

Function: To meditate and arbitrate major human relations conflicts between diverse community interests.

IX Public Relations Committee

Function: To disseminate information about the work of the Human Relations Commission.

X Personnel Committee

Function: To nominate candidates for vacancies on the Topeka Human Relations Commission, to assess the need for professional staff, to recruit and screen such staff, and make appropriate recommendations to the commission.

APPENDIX C 2
PROGRAM PLANNING / MODEL PROGRAM GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

THE FOLLOWING IS AN EXAMPLE OF ONE COMMISSION'S EFFORT TO SET DOWN, ONCE A YEAR, IN PRECISE LANGUAGE THE TASKS WHICH IT WILL UNDERTAKE AND THE GOALS IT HOPES TO ACHIEVE. (THE LIST OF OBJECTIVES HAS BEEN CONDENSED. A TOTAL OF 50 SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES WERE LISTED FOR 1963.)

Program Goals and Objectives For 1963

In keeping with the powers, duties and responsibilities delegated to it by the Philadelphia Home Rule Charter, the Commission on Human Relations herewith adopts the following statement of:

I Long-range goals
II Specific objectives for 1963

The goals and objectives may not be altered, new objectives added or listed objectives abandoned except by express approval of the Commission.

The respective committees of the Commission, the Executive Director and staff are instructed to work diligently for the objectives set forth here. The respective program committees will meet periodically with staff to review progress and to resolve problems of policy and procedure for the implementation of the objectives.

I The Goals

(The Commission goals are implicit in the Philadelphia Home Rule Charter and in the laws the Commission is required to administer. They are explicitly stated as a foundation for the specific objectives. While the implied goals of the Commission do not change, the explicit definition of goals may be changed from year to year as community conditions change and as the Commission grows in its understanding of its responsibilities.)

A. Economic Opportunity

■ 1. Complete equality of economic opportunity in Philadelphia, unrestricted by considerations of color, religion or ethnic origin, affirmatively implemented in all areas and all levels of economic enterprise; in employment, including supervisory and executive levels; in the professions and trades; in proprietorship and management; in purchasing or renting land or building space for business purposes; and in obtaining financial credit.

■ 2. Full encouragement of aspirations, motivation, initiative, persistence in job hunting, and development of requisite skills among all elements of the population, so that equality of opportunity will not be subverted by adherence to traditional patterns of employment or by ignorance, cynicism and indolence.

B. A Place to Live

■ 1. Complete equality of opportunity to select and purchase, or rent and occupy, a home or to finance the purchase of a home in the Greater Philadelphia Community in accordance with the interests of the individual or family, ability to pay and such other reasonable standards as may be applied equally to all others regardless of color, religion or ethnic origin.

■ 2. Purposeful, open encouragement to persons and families of all groups to seek homes in the general market on an ethnically and religiously decentralized pattern; the promotion of racially and religiously inclusive communities; and encouragement of real estate practices conducive to such neighborhood patterns.

C. Education and Training

■ 1. An educational system that provides all children and adults with adequate opportunity to obtain education and training, for responsible citizenship and for economic productivity in accordance with their needs and potentialities, without handicap because of color, religion or ethnic origin.

■ 2. Special educational programs to compensate for the cultural deprivation of particular segments of the population resulting from the history of racial discrimination.

D. A Pluralistic Community, Freedom of Association and Mutual Respect

■ 1. Freedom for all persons of all colors, religions and ethnic groups to form and maintain voluntary associations without interference, fear or shame either with persons of like color, religious faith or ethnic background, or with persons of any or all faiths, colors or ethnic backgrounds for personal, religious, social or cultural purposes.

■ 2. Recognition and respect from persons of all groups for the worth and dignity of all others regardless of color, religion or ethnic origin.

■ 3. Prohibition of any conspiracy on the part of any persons or groups to act against or limit the rights and privileges of persons of different color, religion or ethnic origin.

E. Community Relations

A community-wide public awareness, shared by persons of all colors, religions and ethnic backgrounds and in all neighborhoods, that all citizens of Philadelphia share an interdependence and mutuality of concern for the general safety, health and welfare, and that intercommunication and cooperation are essential for the good of each individual and for the common good.

F. Law and Order and Citizen Responsibility

■ 1. Full and equal protection of the law to all persons, equal treatment and due courtesy to, and respect for, all citizens by all officers of the law, regardless of color, religion or ethnic origin.

■ 2. Respect for the law; respect for, and cooperation with, law enforcement officers by all citizens of all colors, religions and ethnic origins

G. Public Accommodations and Business Practice

Full community-wide observance of the equal public accommodations laws, and of the principle of equal treatment in all business, trade and professional services.

II Specific Program Objectives For 1963 (abridged)

A. Public Education

■ 1. Initiate the periodic application of a set of standards or criteria, for the measurement of both the present status and annual improvement or other change with respect to the following objectives in the Philadelphia Public Schools, the findings to be made public:

a. Providing equal and adequate facilities for all children in all parts of the city.

b. Providing equal and adequate teaching personnel and resources for all children in all parts of the city.

c. Assigning teachers and other personnel according to qualifications and needs; achieving maximum integration of personnel at all levels in all schools in every section of the city.

d. Meeting the educational needs of children from culturally deprived families and neighborhoods, with the aim of compensating for the history of racial discrimination.

e. Promoting racial integration of students in all schools in the city as far as residential patterns, pupil capacity of individual schools, and the welfare of the individuals will permit.

B. Public Law and Employment

■ 1. Receive, investigate and adjust all complaints of discrimination in employment under Section 9-104, the Philadelphia Code; such adjustment to include affirmative measures to correct patterns of exclusion whether or not unlawful discrimination has been found.

■ 2. Conduct regular inspections of city work contracts to assure compliance with Addendum Number Two under such contracts, including surveys of the work forces, examination of recruitment patterns and practices of such contractors and to attempt through conferences and other means both with contractors and unions, to assure an improved pattern of employment of minority persons.

■ 3. Initiate inspections, conduct and issue advisory findings and recommendations upon not less than fifty employer firms.

■ 4. Continue negotiations and such other measures as are necessary to improve affirmative implementation of merit employment in the following industries: hotel and restaurant; banking; alcoholic and malt beverage; and the entertainment industry.

■ 5. Initiate a broad general survey of employment patterns and practices in the fields of insurance and finance to attain or promote affirmative implementation of merit employment in these industries.

C. Housing

■ 1. Serve the Philadelphia community with information and guidance concerning the provisions and the implementation of the Pennsylvania law and the President's Executive order as they affect housing accommodations.

■ 2. In addition to supplying services to promote stability in racially changing neighborhoods as needed, plan and conduct an intensive, experimental stabilization program in one area to determine whether a more vigorous approach may provide more meaningful results.

■ 3. Continue and intensify the educational program directed toward the non-white community to promote initiative and to provide information regarding the availability of housing.

■ 4. Provide consultative services to the City Planning Commission, Office of the Development Coordinator, the Redevelopment Authority, the Philadelphia Housing Authority, and other public and private agencies concerned with housing, redevelopment and/or urban renewal.

■ 5. Continue to receive, process and/or refer complaints of discrimination and malpractice in the housing industry.

D. Community Relations

■ 1. Incident Control and Complaint Investigation

a. Maintain a "tension alert" including 24-hour communication with police and other agencies. Conduct or provide for prompt investigation and remedial action on all incidents of emergency character.

b. Record and analyze all rumors, reports and incidents of intergroup tension for the purpose of determining causes and taking remedial and preventive measures.

■ 2. Police-Community Relations and Training

a. Promote and provide consultative services to the Police Force at headquarters, division and district levels for the improvement of police-community relations and police-citizen understanding and cooperation.

b. Conduct an evaluation of the human relations training programs for city personnel, particularly in the Police and Recreation Departments.

■ 3. Interagency Consultation and Services

a. Promote and provide consultative services to city agencies and private agencies in meeting human relations problems and to contribute to improved human relations through their respective operations.

b. Supply consultation and bilingual communications services to city and other public and private agencies with reference to services to Spanish-speaking people.

■ 4. Community Organization Services

Organize and service human relations councils growing out of leadership training classes as required and continue service to existing human relations councils in the several communities of Philadelphia.

■ 5. Community Organization Services in Spanish Language Areas

a. Promote and provide informational services to Spanish-speaking population and interchange of information between English and Spanish-speaking populations through community organization services.

b. Promote community organization activity and provide community organization services in neighborhoods with concentrations of Puerto Rican residents.

E. Research

■ 1. Arrange for distribution of three monographs printed late in 1962: "Philadelphia's Non-White Population: 1960, Report No. 3, Socio-economic Data," "Some Factors Affecting Housing Desegregation," and "Factors Influencing Crime Rates of Negroes."

■ 2. Complete the preparation of a report on census data on Philadelphia's Puerto Rican population.

■ 3. Perform recurrent and regular services: meeting day-to-day requests for information, preparing annual statistics, abstracting and reviewing pertinent research documents, assisting other division of CHR in their fact-finding projects, etc.

F. Information and Education

■ 1. Continue efforts to cultivate within the mass media a greater concern for and more effective attention to the problems of discrimination, segregation and human relations within the community. In consultation with the executives of mass media in the city, determine whether to conduct a meeting for executives of local media and intergroup agencies similar to those conducted in 1961 and 1962.

■ 2. In cooperation with local television stations, conclude production of a series of three or four half-hour television documentary programs dealing with intergroup relations issues. Continue the efforts to persuade other television and radio stations to produce similar programs.

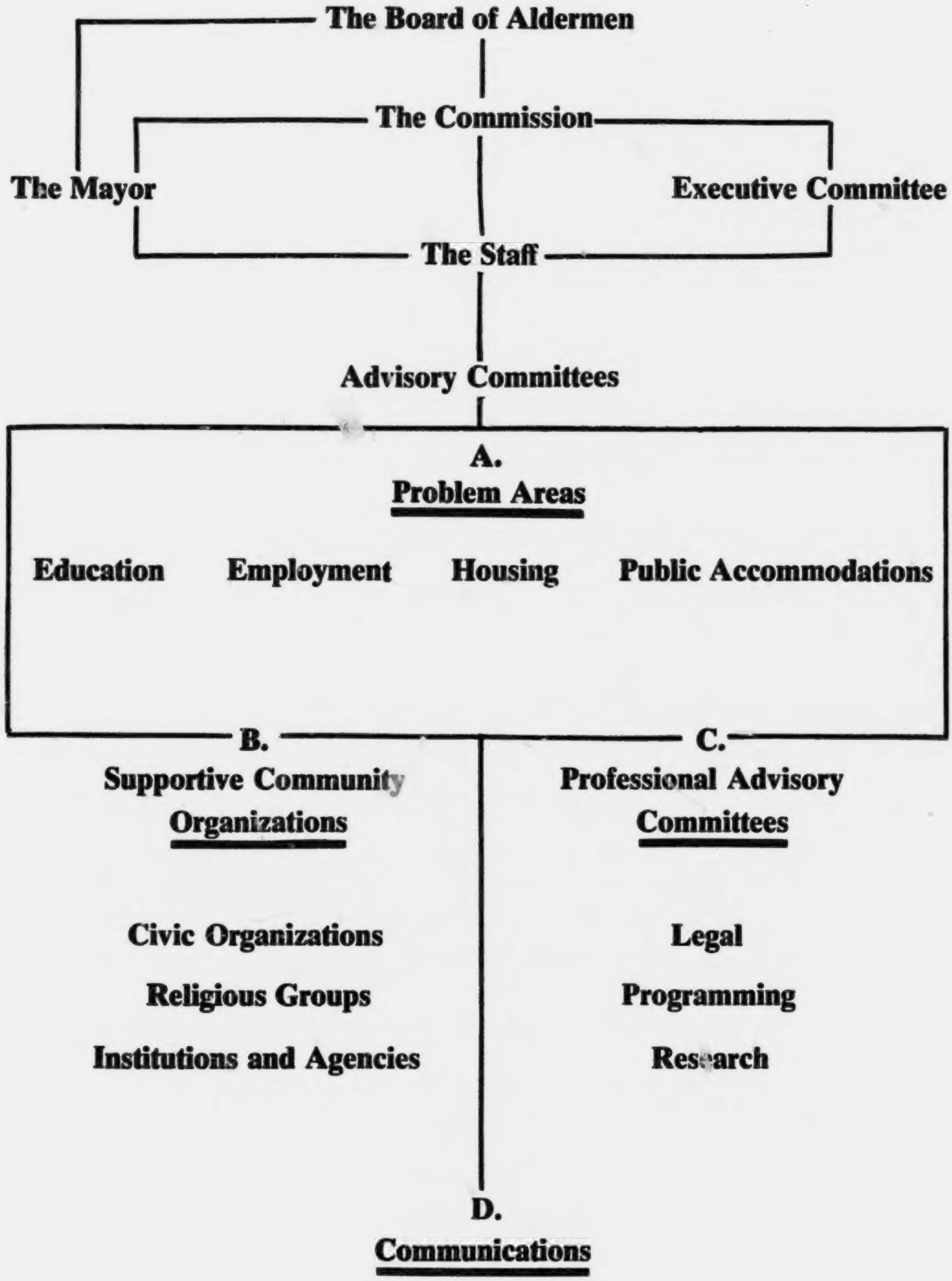
■ 3. Continue to provide staff services to the Committee on Leadership Development and Participation as it completes the program for the placement of qualified Negro citizens on boards and commissions and in other leadership positions. In consultation with the Committee, determine whether to continue the program with another group of participants.

■ 4. Distribute and promote the use of film and still television spot announcements. Continue to service local radio stations with spot announcements.

APPENDIX D
MODEL COMMITTEE STRUCTURE FOR COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

THE FOLLOWING REPRESENTS A WELL CONCEPTUALIZED APPROACH TO BOTH PROBLEM SOLVING AND THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND SUPPORT. THERE IS GREAT DANGER THAT A COMMITTEE STRUCTURE SO ELABORATE WILL NOT HOLD UP UNLESS THERE ARE STAFF SERVICES TO MATCH. A WELL-STAFFED AGENCY WOULD PROBABLY FIND THIS ORGANIZATIONAL PLAN HIGHLY USEFUL.

LOUISVILLE HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION ORGANIZATIONAL CHART


The Board of Aldermen
The Commission
The Mayor
Executive Committee
The Staff
Advisory Committees
A.
Problem Areas
Education
Employment
Housing
Public Accommodations
B.
Supportive Community Organizations
Civic Organizations
Religious Groups
Institutions and Agencies
C.
Professional Advisory Committees
Legal
Programming
Research
D.
Communications

A. Problem Areas

The Education Committee will advise the Commission, and assist in developing and carrying out such programs as are related to the field of Education. Its concern is that all educational facilities in the City of Louisville shall provide suitable learning experiences and environment for all students, and that all educational programs be so directed that both students and teachers are assisted and encouraged to achieve self-fulfillment, self-respect, and appreciation for one another.

The Employment Committee shall (1) disseminate information and interpret the program and policies of the Commission to the business community; (2) seek the elimination of racial and religious discrimination in employment practices for which owners, managers, and labor unions may be responsible; and by education and persuasion to work for changes in such policies; and (3) actively work with management, owners, and labor leaders to develop plans and procedures for fair employment practices and up-grading employment opportunities without discrimination as to race, or religion.

The Housing Committee seeks recognition of the inherent right of every individual to choose his own environment, and will work for the elimination of all artificial barriers or controls which frustrate or deny such rights because of race or religious prejudice. The achievement of a city-wide policy for the practice of open occupancy in both private and public housing is deemed essential to the peace and welfare of this community, and must, therefore, inevitably be accepted by all as a moral and constitutional right.

The Public Accommodations Committee has a primary concern that all public accommodations, such as restaurants, places of amusement, hotels, motels, etc., enjoying the protection and patronage of this community shall make their services available to all citizens of Louisville. This Committee will seek by education and negotiations, and with the assistance of the Mayor and the Commission, to persuade those owners who do not serve everyone, to open their establishments to all, regardless of race or religion. If such action is unsuccessful, the Committee will seek legislative remedy to secure the rights of all citizens of Louisville to enjoy the services of all places of public accommodations.

B. Supportive Community Organizations

The Civic Organizations Committee is made up of representatives of major civic groups of the city which have aggregate membership totaling almost 200,000 people. As active members and officers of their respective organizations, they are selected to serve on this committee by various procedures acceptable to their groups. This Committee assists the Commission (1) by interpreting the work of the Commission to the membership of their organizations and enlisting their support when needed; (2) by bringing the ideas and concerns of the represented organizations to the attention of the Commission; and (3) by providing, through such means as they may devise, the widest possible community support needed to assist the Commission in carrying out its objectives.

The Religious Groups Committee is comprised of clergymen representing the Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant Christian faiths. This Committee is committed (1) to define all human relations in terms of Moral Theology declaring the sacredness, integrity, and dignity of every human person; (2) to seek the achievement of equality of full participation in membership, fellowship, and employment in all religious organizations in this community; and (3) to create a moral climate and promote social action for equal opportunity to all in the secular fields of employment, education, housing, and public accommodations.

The Institutions and Agencies Committee will work toward the advancement and conservation of all human resources of all citizens of this community for the common good of the community. This committee is primarily a fact-finding and investigative group and will recommend to the Commission methods for ending discrimination wherever found in the services provided by social service institutions and agencies of this community.

■ C. Professional Advisory Committees

The Legal Committee includes practicing attorneys, the Director of the City Law Department, and the Director of Public Safety who advise the Commission on all legal matters. This Committee will draft legislation, contracts, and other such documents. It gives counsel on legal problems which should be considered in connection with programs and projects planned by the Commission and its staff. The Legal Committee seeks equal justice for all through the Law and in the Courts regardless of race, or creed.

The Programming Committee is made up of people who are directors of privately supported agencies dedicated to the improvement of human relations. They advise the Commission as to the most effective methods and techniques which may be employed in achieving its objectives. This Committee assists in the development of programs, workshops and in the development of approaches best suited for specific objectives. In some instances they provide co-sponsorship in efforts calling for the cooperation of private organizations and the Commission as a public agency. The inclusion of such a committee in the organization of the Commission is designed to maintain communication with private agencies also working in the field of human relations, and to avoid duplication of efforts.

The Research Committee is made up of representatives of the disciplines particularly concerned with human behavior. It is a general advisory committee, and its purposes are: (1) to serve as individual consultants from the various disciplines when needed by other associated committees, or the Commission; (2) to assist in the development of questionnaires for surveys and other instruments needed for implementing approved studies and projects; (3) to initiate and conduct research subject to the approval and financial support of the Commission; and (4) to collect information about, and/or obtain published reports on research in the field of human relations.

▮ D. Communications

The Communications Committee, which is comprised of people actively working in the various fields of the news media, feels that it can best serve the Commission, its associate committees, and the general public in a four-fold capacity: (1) As a clearing house for information about the work in progress of the associated committees; (2) as a source of information about the work of volunteer groups, here and elsewhere, in the field of human relations, both government and private agencies; (3) as consultants, to provide technical advice and services in inter-committee meetings before Commission policies and projects are made known to the public, and to prepare a monthly Newsletter to facilitate the best possible communication between all of the associated committees and others interested in the work of the Commission; (4) to inform and persuade the general public of the desirability of the Commission's goals and in this connection to work with all news media to obtain community support essential to its efforts.

APPENDIX E

SUGGESTED GUIDELINES ON THE HANDLING OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS NEWS

THIS LIST OF SUGGESTIONS IS ONE OF A NUMBER OF RECOMMENDATIONS BY A GROUP OF FORTY EXECUTIVES OF NEWSPAPERS, RADIO AND TELEVISION STATIONS AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS AGENCIES IN PHILADELPHIA WHO MET FIVE TIMES DURING JANUARY AND FEBRUARY OF 1961.

THE PARTICIPANTS RECOGNIZED THAT BOTH THE MEDIA AND THE AGENCIES SHARE A RESPONSIBILITY TO INFORM AND INTERPRET TO THE PUBLIC THE PROBLEMS AND CRISES, THE PROGRAMS AND DEVELOPMENTS AND THE NEWS OF ONE OF THE MOST CRUCIAL ISSUES OF PRESENT TIMES.

Suggested Guidelines For Newspapers, Radio And Television Stations

1. The city's newspapers and radio and television stations can be powerful instruments for helping to create a climate of opinion where understanding and harmony can flourish. They have a key role in informing the public of the problems, the issues and developments of intergroup relations. In time of intergroup tension, conflict or violence, they have a responsibility to inform the public and to do everything in their power to help contain violence.

2. In "hot" racial or intergroup incidents, "flash" or "bulletin" reporting may stimulate crowd formations and wider tensions. When there is a danger of increasing tensions, such as in the case of a Negro family moving into a hitherto white neighborhood, it may be advisable to wait until the move has been effected and the family settled before carrying the story. Announcing the move in advance may invite the presence of hoodlums and trouble makers. Similarly, the obvious presence of numbers of reporters or cameramen can excite exhibitionist crowd behavior or create greater disturbance. On the other hand dangerous rumors and tensions can fester and spread in an informational vacuum. Objective, factual reporting is the best antidote to false and dangerous rumors.

3. An understanding of the issues and developments of intergroup relations is crucial to the welfare of the nation and community. "Depth" or "background" reporting of intergroup news should be used to present both sides of the issues and get at the factors behind news events. Such reporting may help to prepare the public for positive social changes and minimize tension and conflict.

4. Care should be used in identifying persons by race, religion or national origin. Such labelling is sometimes necessary, however, to give sense to the story. The value of labelling criminals at large by race to aid in their apprehension is always questionable. Labels should never be used except when other identifying characteristics are also reported. There is no justification for labelling in news stories after a suspect has been apprehended.

5. Negroes or other racial, religious or nationality groups should be treated as integral parts of the American scene. Their social functions, church sermons, and achievements warrant publication whenever "news judgment" would dictate coverage if the people involved were not of minority groups.

6. In reporting cases of altercation between citizens and law enforcement authorities both sides of the story should be carried.

7. Professional bigots and hate-mongers depend on publicity for an audience. They obtain followers and income from notoriety.

Such rabble-rousers may profit if given a free forum through the news media for their propaganda. Incidents involving such bigots may merit concise and objective news coverage but "advance" coverage usually contributes to the stature of such persons and their ideas. (Care should be taken in applying the term "bigot" or "hate-monger." The term "bigot" might properly be applied to a person or group which seeks to advance itself by generating hostility or hate toward particular religious, ethnic, social class or political groups. There is likely to be little attention to issues or to documented fact and extreme resort to falsehood, innuendo and half truth.)

8. "Depth" reporting in the form of exposés of extremist movements may serve a valuable function in informing the public of the significance of such groups.

Suggested Guidelines For Intergroup Relations Agencies

1. Intergroup relations agencies should communicate with and confide in the mass media by anticipating events, briefing the media with facts and background material and suggesting how the events could be handled. Constructive criticism is also welcomed by the media.

2. Agencies should avoid giving the impression of having special axes to grind. They cannot expect all intergroup relations activities to be reported.

3. Intergroup relations agencies should familiarize themselves with what is regarded by the media as news and should present their materials in clear, simple language avoiding technical terms and jargon.

4. Agencies should be prepared to furnish to the media pertinent quotations on the issues they want reported. Utilization of well-known persons in the community will help draw the desired attention. Agencies can alert the mass media to good material (speeches by prominent personalities, picture subjects, etc.).

5. Since some of the media warn that they cannot be committed to treat off-the-record material as such, agencies must use their judgment in releasing For Your Information items. In many cases agencies may find they can send out general material without spotting a particular incident.

6. Agencies can interpret to the community and to their constituencies the limitations and opportunities of the media in publicizing intergroup relations programs, activities, personalities and events.

APPENDIX F
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIX F1
NATIONAL, STATE AND MUNICIPAL HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEES AND COMMISSIONS

(MANY STATE AND MUNICIPAL COMMITTEES LISTED IN APPENDIX A ISSUE ANNUAL REPORTS WHICH ARE USUALLY AVAILABLE ON REQUEST.)

Barnett, R. and Garai, J., WHERE THE STATES STAND ON CIVIL RIGHTS, New York, Bold Face Books, 1962.

The authors offer the status of civil rights in each of the fifty states as they affect the Negro. Broad classifications used deal with voting, housing, education, employment, public accommodations and interracial marriage. They offer no conclusions or projections into the future with respect to the law.

50 States Report from the State Advisory Committees to the Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D. C., 1961.

A compilation of the individual reports submitted by the 50 State Advisory groups under one masthead. In each of the state reports presented, special focus was placed on the areas where certain civil rights were violated. Since the situation differs from state to state, emphasis is placed on different aspects of the problem. Thus, segregation in housing is well recognized in most Southern states, and the housing question seems to be the same in Alaska; but the practices are so subtle that they defy identification. The material was derived from public hearings, questionnaires and extensive field research.

Mendelson, W., DISCRIMINATION, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1962.

This work is a synopsis by the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Each of the chapters summarizes one volume. In addition, the recommendations suggested by the Commission to overcome discriminatory practices is given.

Although it is conceded that the Negro has made some progress, the over-all picture suggests that freedoms taken for granted by whites are still not part of the Negro's way of life. Restricted freedom to vote, segregation in public schools in both the South and the North and economic restrictions keep the Negro a "second class" citizen. In combination, the aforementioned conditions permit for the continuation of a vicious circle.

Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D. C., 1963.

The Commission's findings are based on field research and specialized monographs prepared for the Commission on subjects such as: Voting, Education, Employment, Housing, Justice, Health Facilities, Urban Areas and the Negro in the Armed Forces.

In essence, they reiterate the fact that discrimination continues, sometimes abated, other times as intense as ever, and that it should be the role of government to implement its policies so that these unjust restrictions will be eliminated.

APPENDIX F2

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC SECURITY

Bird, C., "More Room at the Top: Company Experiences in Employing Negroes in Professional and Management Jobs," MANAGEMENT REVIEW, March, 1963.

Miss Bird ascribes the opening of new employment opportunities to the following: (1) Executive Order (No. 10925) On Equal Employment Opportunity issued March 6, 1961. Under this Order, all companies holding government contracts must, as a condition of retaining their contracts, hire without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin. (2) State legislation, often patterned after federal legislation, has been another influence. (3) Many companies have jumped on the bandwagon when they discovered that work performance improved up and down the line when merit promotion was fully practiced. (4) Finally, non-conformers, noting the positive effects of equal opportunity on Profits, Prestige and Public Relations, have joined the minority.

Bloch, H. D., "Apprenticeship: A Source of Economic Security," CRISIS, April, 1961.

This article deals with the question of formal apprenticeship versus pure vocational school training and develops the notion that the best training can only be obtained through formal apprenticeship. It also relates the importance of formal training to union admission and access to the better paying jobs in the construction industry. A classification of titles other than Journeyman is given, and shows how persons may become journeymen through devious means acceptable to the unions. Stress is placed on the distinction between the crafts and industrial pursuits with respect to age. Age is not a barrier to employment in the crafts, whereas it definitely is in industrial employment.

The City of New York Commission on Human Rights, INTERIM REPORT TO THE MAYOR FROM THE CITY COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS OF NEW YORK ON ITS INQUIRY INTO CHARGES OF RACIAL BIAS IN THE CITY'S BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY, New York, 1963.

Based on testimony given by various "experts" in the field of race relations and union representatives, the Commission submitted a written report to the Mayor of the City of New York. The report sums up its findings with respect to union, employer and governmental responsibility for the continuation of exclusionary practices in the building and construction industry.

Also included is the Brennan plan, a critique of this plan, and some recommendations on how to attain equal employment opportunities in the industry.

Ginzberg, Eli, THE NEGRO POTENTIAL, New York, Columbia University Press, 1956.

This book traces the gains that Negroes have made since 1940 by getting more and better jobs in the urban economy of the South and the North. The chapter on Negro education, however, points up how far Negroes still lag behind their white fellow citizens despite recent improvements.

The concluding chapters emphasize what the Negro and white communities must still do to insure that the steady progress of the last decade and a half will be continued until the Negro becomes more fully integrated into American life and fuller use is made of his potentialities.

New York State Commission Against Discrimination,
APPRENTICES, SKILLED CRAFTSMEN AND THE NEGRO, New York, 1960.

This monograph was conceived in an effort to achieve the Commission's main purpose as an agency: to prevent and eliminate discriminatory employment policies, practices and patterns through regulatory and educational activities.

Divided into two parts, part one offers a review of the historical and contemporary aspects of the labor market with respect to Negro craftsmen and apprentices. To help the Negro know where the demand for craftsmen will be greatest in the near future, the report stresses the future needs of industry. In addition to the labor market aspects, an exposition is given of the structure, process and scope of registered apprenticeship programs in New York State.

Part two of the monograph deals with an empirical analysis of the number of Negro apprentices then in registered programs. After this analysis of the problems Negroes face in breaking through the craft union philosophy of restriction of entrance to all but "insiders" and their friends, an assessment of the inhibiting factors is made.

Norgren, P. H., Webster, A. N., Gorgeson, R. D. and Patten, M. B., EMPLOYING THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY, Industrial Relations Counselors, New York, 1959.

Based on a questionnaire and a follow-up in the field, covering some 44 establishments where Negroes were employed, this report revealed that management has a great deal of control over the question of integration in terms of industrial relations, rather than the broader social issue.

The success pattern of these companies revealed the need for (1) proper selection, placement and promotion of individuals and (2) a call for skills in the arts of communication, personnel development and human relations. Since these are managerial functions, controllable by management, other companies can achieve a success pattern by placing emphasis in these two areas.

Silberman, C. E., "The Businessman and the Negro," FORTUNE, September, 1963.

The author stresses integration in the area of employment rather than social integration. "Jobs, not civil rights, will be the key issue. . . ." He stresses the fact that little has been done by companies who signed Plans for Progress, but that they are not entirely at fault. The poor communication process within the companies is also responsible. Silberman concludes that business must take the initiative "not because it is expedient, nor even because it is necessary, but because it is right."

United States Commission on Civil Rights Report #3: EMPLOYMENT, Washington, D. C., 1961.

The Commission was created by the Civil Rights Act of 1957 as a bipartisan agency to study civil rights problems and to report to the President and the Congress. The Supreme Court has described the Commission's statutory duties as follows: ". . . its function is purely investigative and fact-finding. . . ." Its findings in the area of employment include, among other items, the following: (1) There has been a change in the occupational levels held by Negroes over the last 20 years. (2) Still, they are found predominantly in the unskilled and semi-skilled trades. This makes them most vulnerable to unemployment because of technological change. (3) The Negro's depressed economic status is partly attributed to: (a) discrimination in vocational and academic training; (b) discrimination by craft unions; (c) discrimination against Negroes in referral services rendered by State employment offices; (d) discrimination against Negroes by employers, including the Federal Government.

Recommendations made by the Commission include: (1) steps be taken to strengthen the Bureau of Employment Security Policy in rendering recruitment and placement services and assisting minority group members in overcoming obstacles to employment; (2) steps be taken to provide equality of training and employment for youths, particularly minority group youths; (3) steps be taken to provide that no labor organization shall refuse membership to, segregate, or expel any person because of race, color, religion or national origin.

Workers Defense League, APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING IN NEW YORK: Openings in 1963, New York, 1963.

This short pamphlet is useful for its listing of the requirements for apprenticeship in many of the crafts and its projection of the employment outlook in these trades.

APPENDIX F3
HOUSING AND RESIDENTIAL DESEGREGATION

Commission on Race and Housing, WHERE SHALL WE LIVE? Berkeley, University of California Press, 1958.

The result of a three year study, this report stresses racial discrimination in housing. Among the topics it includes: house building, finance, real estate, property values, law and government, social and economic consequences, the changing status of minorities and the Commission's recommendations for the future.

The Fund for the Republic, RACE AND HOUSING, Santa Barbara, California, 1964.

Based on an interview with E. P. Eichler, a builder of homes in the $20,000 to $25,000 price range, this study discusses how this builder opened various housing developments to Negroes after 1954. It should be noted that this was done before legal pressures were applied to California builders using public funds.

Glazer, N. and McEntire, D., RACE AND HOUSING, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1960.

This book consists of a series of seven monographs by different authorities and covers cities in the Deep South as well as the North. The editors' general conclusion is that a different picture emerges in each of the cities studied for each of the underprivileged groups. For example, when Atlanta and Birmingham are compared with regard to housing conditions and other opportunities for Negroes, Birmingham fared better in one than in the other. This was the case despite the fact that both cities forced Negroes to live under the regional system of segregation and white dominance.

Grier, Eunice and George, BEYOND NON-DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING–ALTERNATIVES FOR AMERICANS, New York, Anti-Defamation League. Forthcoming 1964.

A survey of legal developments in the field of housing discrimination, this study is set against the background of changing public opinion. The pamphlet emphasizes shifting occupancy patterns and some of the yet unsolved problems in housing facing all Americans.

Laurenti, L., PROPERTY VALUES AND RACE, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1960.

The author demolishes the proposition that the close correlation between the incidence of blight and decay is linked with non-white residence areas which, in turn, depress property values. The proposition is invalid because the incidence of blight and decay may be due to non-racial causes–non-whites are obliged to live in these areas because of poverty and/or social pressures. Furthermore, the seven cities used to test the proposition that an influx of non-whites means property depreciation does not hold up. Instead, the major statistical findings revealed that entry of non-whites into previously all white neighborhoods brought price improvement or continued price stability.

Rapkin, C. and Grigsby, W. G., THE DEMAND FOR HOUSING IN RACIALLY MIXED AREAS, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1960.

The primary purpose of this study was to probe the nature and ultimate outcome of a transition process–change from an all white to a racially mixed neighborhood. The authors found that people's experiences in transition areas led to participation in the solution of common problems. In turn, this led to mutual understanding and frequently provided the path toward an integrated community.

APPENDIX F4

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Blaustein, A. P. and Ferguson, C. C., Jr., DESEGREGATION AND THE LAW, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1957.

Although they wrote their book three years after the Supreme Court rendered its decision in the "Brown vs. Board of Education" case, the authors felt that it was still necessary to discuss the events that led up to the case. This background serves several purposes since it helps the reader to understand that "separate but equal" is not what it implies, and it also points up the future significance of "Brown vs. Board of Education."

Hence, the establishment of basic legal principles does not mean that there is no need for additional law or that new interpretations of the law are hindrances to the implementation of the Court's intent. Of course, it is well to recognize that law alone cannot bring about social integration either in the South or the North.

CIVIL RIGHTS U.S.A.: Public Schools–Cities In The North And West, Washington, D. C., United States Commission On Civil Rights, 1962.

This volume consists of a series of reports submitted to the Commission on Civil Rights, dealing with some five cities in the North and West.

Charges made against school officials include gerrymander, transfer policies and practices, discriminatory feeder patterns of elementary to secondary schools, overcrowding of predominantly Negro schools, site selection, etc. The most famous is that of the New Rochelle study based on a 2,000 page transcript. This case was responsible for the activity in most Northern cities that are plagued with the same problems.

The authors point out that *de facto* segregation has a debilitating effect upon the school children both with respect to their potential and to their possibilities of changing their socio-economic environment.

The Commission on School Integration, PUBLIC SCHOOL SEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION IN THE NORTH, Washington, D. C., National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, 1963.

The objectives of this study were: first, to put the twin issues of segregated education and inequality of educational opportunity in historical perspective; second, to explore the incidence and to clarify the import of these two evils; finally, to point out and to evaluate the remedies.

Klopf, Gordon J. and Laster, Israel A. (eds.), INTEGRATING THE URBAN SCHOOL, New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963.

This volume contains the proceedings of the Conference on Integration in the New York City Public Schools held in 1963 at Columbia University with twenty human rights and education organizations participating.

The three main papers by Professors Melvin Tumin, Martin Deutsch and Dan Thompson are of particular value in throwing new light on the nature of the problem which integration of culturally deprived non-white pupils presents to the schools. The 30 recommendations contained in the proceedings give further insight into what changes large city school systems are being called upon to make.

United States Commission on Civil Rights, EDUCATION, Washington, D. C., 1961.

The huge task that lies ahead in desegregating schools in the South and the North, even though seven years have elapsed since the U.S. Supreme Court pronounced that segregated schools were unconstitutional, is well recognized by the Commission. Its study revealed the slowness of change when it cited some 2,062 school districts in the South that enroll white and Negro students separately, and have not even started to comply with the new requirements of the law.

APPENDIX F5

EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR THE EDUCATIONALLY DISADVANTAGED

Bloch, H. D., "Apprenticeship: A Source of Economic Security," CRISIS, April, 1961.

This essay deals with formal apprenticeship training and the role apprenticeship plays in obtaining both job entry and occupational status. It also deals with types of training other than formal apprenticeship programs, the employment outlooks in the crafts, and problems of replacements.

East Harlem Project and City Commission on Human Rights of New York, RELEASING HUMAN POTENTIAL: A Study of the East Harlem-Yorkville School Bus Transfer, New York, 1962.

This study, an evaluation of School Bus Transfer, seeks to identify the factors which stimulated parent consent. The basic question was: What motivated parents to consent to the transfer of their children from one school to another with the aid of busses?

The report states that "mixing" of white and colored children made parents feel that their children would get a better education.

National Urban League, EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN EDUCATION–NEW PERSPECTIVES AND RECOMMENDATIONS, Statement to Commissioner, U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, January 24, 1963.

This report stresses the need to improve the quality and content of American education for the benefit of all.

The League's report includes recommendations that: (1) the President of the U.S. establish a National Commission on Education; (2) the U.S. Office of Education establish a Department of Intergroup Relations in Education; (3) the Office of Education spell out the needs in American public education so that the public can make more intelligent decisions.

National Urban League, NEGROES AND THE BUILDING TRADES UNIONS, New York, 1957.

The League's city directors made a study of the craft unions and found that this source of education was pretty much closed to Negroes in many of our cities.

Passow, A. Harry (ed.), EDUCATION IN DEPRESSED AREAS, New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963.

This volume consists of fifteen papers written by such experts in the field of education as Kenneth B. Clark, Martin Deutsch, John H. Fisher, Robert J. Havighurst, and Carl L. Marburger.

The papers are directed toward the major theoretical and empirical consideration of the broad topic "Education in Depressed Areas." Taken together, they form a concerted attempt to analyze the unique characteristics and roles of the school in the urban setting; the nature of existing and required instructional procedures; the characteristics of personnel and material resources; the problems faced by schools in depressed areas.

Reissman, F., THE CULTURALLY DEPRIVED CHILD, New York, Harper and Row, 1962.

The major premise of this work is that equality of opportunity is denied to children of culturally deprived areas. This, in turn, leads to alienation from school and society, and ultimately brings on hostility toward authority outside the family and the gang.

One of the main causes of this tragedy is that our schools are manned by middle class people with middle class values. These middle class values are antithetical to the children they are trying to reach in depressed areas.

To overcome the above inadequacies, the author suggests three approaches: (1) Recognition of educational deficiencies brought by the underprivileged from their homes. (2) Recognition of the fact that the underprivileged have special interests and these can be utilized to open new vistas. (3) Recognition of the fact that educators should have a genuine respect for the efforts of the deprived in coping with life's difficulties.

Roberts, Gene, Jr., "Negro Education—For What?" THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, November 19, 1961. Reprinted by the Anti-Defamation League.

The author states that the most pressing issue that the Negro faces is the lack of equal job opportunity. Although it is nationwide, it is most acute in the South.

A lack of job opportunity tends to demoralize the Negro high school graduate and is often responsible for the Negro seeking higher education. The lack of job opportunity is, in turn, a road block to higher education, and so enforces the vicious circle.

Van Til, W., CHALLENGE TO AMERICA, New York, Anti-Defamation League, 1961.

Professor Van Til discusses the precepts of Religion, Science, and the Law, and shows that none of these permits for "separate but equal." Professor Van Til then relates this statement to human relations and our educational responsibility.

APPENDIX F6

POLICE, LAW AND ORDER

Anti-Defamation League, WITH JUSTICE FOR ALL, New York, 1963.

What makes a good police officer is the question posed by this pamphlet. It is suggested that a police officer: (1) know the law, (2) know his precinct people. If a mob forms, he must call in reserve manpower but not for the use of force.

Epstein, C., INTERGROUP RELATIONS FOR POLICE OFFICERS, Baltimore, Williams and Wilkins, 1962.

The author reasons that since the need for law enforcement arises out of conflict, the police need to deal intelligently with conflict situations. They must use judgment, offering their services as arbitrators, and placating, calming and comforting disturbed citizens. Thus, there is a great need for improved intergroup relations in day-to-day police duties.

Kephart, W. M., RACIAL FACTORS AND URBAN LAW ENFORCEMENT, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957.

This field study deals with various aspects of police organization and the relations between the various echelons of the police bureaucracy and the public. The author found conflict between Negro and white members of the police force and little community work on the part of the upper echelons of the police bureaucracy. The failure of the police department to become interested in the Negro sector of the community led to critical attitudes on the part of the Negro press.

Mendelson, W., DISCRIMINATION, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1962.

The United States Commission on Civil Rights report on "Police Misconduct" reveals that the latter has a long history in both the North and the South. Minority groups, discriminated against in most areas of life, find that they are more subject to police misconduct than other groups in society.

Police misconduct may be described as acts of omission and/or commission. These acts are contrary to the trust placed in our constabulary by law. By omission, we mean instances where the police permit private citizens to carry out unlawful acts by failure to enforce the law. By commission, we mean brutality. The latter usually appears in four contexts: (1) racially motivated police attempts to preserve "segregation"; (2) brutality employed to enforce segregation; (3) police use of duress to obtain confessions; (4) the spontaneous use of unnecessary force in making arrests. Although racism is most pronounced in the first instance, it usually is present in the others.

Rudnick, E. M., THE UNEQUAL BADGE, Atlanta, Southern Regional Council, 1962.

This study deals with Negro policemen in the South and reveals that growing numbers join the police force as a result of emerging political participation. Also, it is noted that Negro policemen do not have the same power as white policemen.

An evaluation of white community leaders' comments on Negro police turned out very favorably.

APPENDIX F7

THE MASS MEDIA

"Mass Media: Content and Function," JOURNAL OF SOCIAL ISSUES, Vol. III, 1947.

The entire issue, a collection of papers, deals with the question of how face to face techniques of the educator, group worker, social leader, etc., can be most effectively integrated with various mass media techniques.

In essence, the central theme is that mass media can be as effective as the hydrogen bomb; thus, the social scientist is faced with the challenge of devising new methods of presentation and analysis for this "New Order" of social phenomena.

National Conference on Religion and Race, RELIGION'S ROLE IN RACIAL CRISIS, New York, 1963.

A national conference was held jointly by the National Council of Churches, The National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Synagogue Council of America in Chicago on January 14, 1963.

The conclusions of the conference focused on the conflict between the word of God and the existence of prejudice and discrimination. Unfortunately, racial problems have been ignored in American church and synagogue sermons. A direct attack on discrimination and prejudice by effective courses of action must be initiated to combat these evils.

The National Council of Churches, THE CHURCH AND MASS MEDIA, New York, 1960.

This group recognizes the importance of mass media and has evaluated two major types. They are: (1) the motion picture industry, and (2) the radio and television industry.

That other groups recognize the importance of these media is demonstrated by the fact that all major denominations have created separate agencies to deal with mass media programming. The report concludes with the suggestion that the ecumenical strategy requires united involvement of the best minds and talents in the churches to combat discrimination.

Rose, A. M., "The Study of the Influence of the Mass Media on Public Opinion," KYKLOS, Vol. XV, 1962. Reprinted by the Anti-Defamation League.

Current research in the area of mass media distinguishes between the public, the integrated group, and the mass. The most susceptible to change is the mass, since its opinion is undeveloped and subject to change according to the latest message distributed by the mass media. The opinion of the public is of intermediate changeability, and that of the integrated group is least susceptible to change since it is traditional opinion.

Thomson, C. A., TELEVISION, POLITICS AND PUBLIC POLICY, Washington, D. C., Brookings Institute, 1958.

The author traces the nation's experience with television and other communications media as used in political contests and explores the problems encountered by various proposals seeking to amend the Federal Communications Act.

His recommendations include: (1) "equal time" be allowed to all major candidates for all offices; (2) "free time" be denied to all Communists. He believes that the voters can get more informative television if they ask for it.

APPENDIX F8
PROGRAMMING FOR CONSTRUCTIVE INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Allport, Gorwon W., ABC'S OF SCAPEGOATING, New York, Anti-Defamation League, 1948 (rev. ed.).

To deal with the problem of scapegoating, a multiple attack is necessary. The principal forms used are: (1) Education for Insight: "Know thyself." (2) Education for Understanding: Since prejudice is not innate, we must look into the strongest influences felt by the child–home, school and neighborhood. (3) Changing Conditions That Lead To Scapegoating: Mitigate economic insecurity by raising the standard of all. This will curtail the need for competition for survival among marginal groups. (4) Legislation: Although you cannot legislate hate out of existence, laws do protect victims; and if in accord with the American Creed, will usually be approved by individuals who are prejudiced.

Burgess, M. Elaine, NEGRO LEADERSHIP IN A SOUTHERN CITY, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1962.

This case study of an urban center in the Middle South deals with Negro policy and action in movement toward desegregation of the schools and other public facilities. The study reveals a high degree of success on the part of the minority Negro community in obtaining a decisive voice in the policies and decisions relating to a state-wide project for industrial and economic expansion. This Negro minority persuaded the city to adopt a more liberal policy in the use of community facilities–recreation areas, busses, ball parks, etc.

Dean, John P. and Rosen, Alex, A MANUAL OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1955.

This is a basic handbook for workers in intergroup relations, for those actively engaged in reducing segregation and discrimination in public institutions, voluntary social agencies, and in other community organizations. This working manual presents in concise detail the principles of sound day-to-day practice in solving problems of intergroup communications, of training staff and leaders for democratic action, and increasing active community participation by minority group members.

Glazer, N. and Moynihan, D. P., BEYOND THE MELTING POT, Cambridge, Massachusetts, M. I. T. Press, 1963. (pp. 67-85.)

Harlem Negroes are deeply involved in politics as a means of bringing about integration in various fields. One area of special concern is jobs and the advancement of group interests. Another area of concentration has been political jobs in the city administration.

Although there is no recognized group of leaders, since each usually speaks for himself, there has been a tendency for many to band together to use political pressures to end *de facto* segregation in the schools, in employment, and in public accommodations.

Grigg, Charles and Killian, Lewis, RACIAL CRISIS IN AMERICA: Leadership in Conflict, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Spectrum Books, 1964.

This study probes the limited role of today's protest leaders and bi-racial committees, and suggests that the threat of violence posed by interracial conflict will move Negro and white leaders into more meaningful negotiation.

Lyford, Joseph P., "Proposal for a Revolution," SATURDAY REVIEW, October 19, and October 26, 1963, reprinted by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California.

The author's thesis is that: (1) the Negro cannot win his battle for equality of opportunity until American society as a whole develops some way of dealing with the rise of mass unemployment; (2) the Negro and the whites who are growing, number wise, as members of an integrated "race of the poor," will ultimately have to combine forces. Once they do, there will be a better possibility of attacking the problem.

Wilson, J. Q., NEGRO POLITICS, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1960.

The advent of a new order in Chicago following World War II reveals that the Negro leader now specializes in a specific area as opposed to the "Ministers" who thought they were omniscient. As a result of this change in Negro leadership, contacts between Negroes and whites have broadened and have become less ritualized. The changing relationship between whites and Negroes has brought in its wake more responsiveness to the problems of residential segregation. Also, the number of contacts by Negroes with influential white civic leaders and politicians is being used to gain concessions in certain areas.

APPENDIX F9

THE ART OF COMMUNICATION

Benne, K. D., Bradford, L. P. and Lippitt, R., GROUP DYNAMICS AND SOCIAL ACTION, New York, Anti-Defamation League, 1960.

The purpose of this pamphlet is to reveal how and why democracy can work effectively despite the flood of propaganda from television, radio, movies, printing-press, etc. The authors' conclusion is that since man is group centered, he can learn to function more democratically and more fruitfully through "group dynamics."

Lee, I. J., HOW DO YOU TALK ABOUT PEOPLE? New York, Anti-Defamation League, 1962.

There are two broad categories of statements: (1) observation statements, or those which imply a set of relationships between things, happenings or people with which one is acquainted; (2) inference statements, or those that fill in what is not apparent in a situation, or what is not provided in the description. The former statements can be made only after acquaintance. It is the latter that frequently lead to mis-evaluation and stereotyping.

To overcome this mis-evaluation, the author suggests lecture-discussions on the theme: How do we talk about people? One of the issues posed to the group is that some kinds of talk make more sense than others, and that the nonsensible type helps to make trouble. Ultimately, the problem approach is intended to eliminate factual-inferential confusion.

Schuman, C. S. and Tarcov, O., . . . TO CLARIFY OUR PROBLEMS: A GUIDE TO ROLE PLAYING, New York, Anti-Defamation League, 1955.

A primer on understanding how to bring out into the open our prejudices and how to overcome them through role playing. The object of role playing is to get a maximum of participation through the acting out, by a few members of the group, of a concrete problem or idea under discussion.

Walpole, H. R., SEMANTICS, New York, Norton, 1941.

This book deals with the meaning of words. Since each word may have many meanings, the study of semantics is the "meaning of meaning."

The aim of semantics is: (1) a constant awareness of the importance of the context in which a word is used; and (2) the practice of multiple definition. The author believes that people will think more accurately if they have an awareness of these two aims.

APPENDIX F10

VOTING

Commission on Civil Rights, VOTING, Washington, D. C., 1961.

Although the Negro has made progress in gaining voting rights both North and South, a gap still exists between him and the white man. To indicate how wide the existing chasm is in many Southern states, it is pointed out that in some 100 counties in eight Southern states, Negroes are prevented from exercising their vote. To restrain the Negro, coercion is employed in the form of violence and economic reprisal. A more invidious way of making the Negro vote impotent is the policy followed in the North–gerrymandering.

Felknor, Bruce L. and Taft, Charles P., PREJUDICE AND POLITICS, New York, Anti-Defamation League, 1960.

This pamphlet traces the role religion and race have played in American elections, and describes how suffrage was gradually extended to all religions and races. It discusses such examples of prejudice as the 1928 election campaign, and concludes with a Code of Fair Campaign Practices. Co-authors Taft and Felknor are executives of the National Council of Churches, and are chairman and executive director, respectively, of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee.

Glazer, N. and Moynihan, D. P., BEYOND THE MELTING POT, Cambridge, Massachusetts, M. I. T. Press, 1963. (pp. 67-85.)

The authors state that one thing is certain: the Negroes in Harlem and other New York communities are deeply involved in politics. They register and vote in substantial proportions. Politics is conceived as an area in which to advance the interests of individuals and the group. Indicative of their success in politics was the election of Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. to the Congress of the United States; also of Edward R. Dudley, President of the Borough of Manhattan, and the various sinecures given to many Negroes in local government.

Mendelson, W., DISCRIMINATION, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1962.

The importance of the vote was summarized by one Negro witness appearing before the Commission's Louisiana hearing, "... we have nobody to represent us on the jury, the school board ... the State legislature, nowhere. All the laws [that] are being passed we have no voice in, whether it is for us or against us, and I don't think you can find many that is for us."

Some of the Commission's recommendations include: (1) all persons shall be required to have the same qualifications for voting and that these should not be based on color or race; (2) a statistical check be made by the Bureau of the Census to include all persons of voting age and to determine whether such persons have voted since January 1, 1960.

Wilson, J. Q., NEGRO POLITICS, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1960.

The growing number of Negroes in Northern cities suggests that the Negro is becoming more and more aware of his political power and that he will exercise it to bring about greater equality in society.

Chicago, like New York, is thoroughly organized by the Negro political organization even though it is a sub-machine of the Democratic Party. Through the machine, Negroes have been able to attain positions at various levels in the political hierarchy.

APPENDIX F11

GENERAL READING LIST

(THE FOLLOWING BOOKS COVER MANY OF THE SUBJECTS LISTED IN THE PREVIOUS SECTIONS OF APPENDIX F. THEY ARE LISTED SEPARATELY BECAUSE THEY PROVIDE THE READER WITH A BROADER SCOPE OF INFORMATION.)

Mack, Raymond W. and Duster, Troy S., PATTERNS OF MINORITY RELATIONS, New York, Anti-Defamation League, 1964.

This concise study of minority group problems delves into the realms of the caste system, group boundaries, stereotypes, and some of the weaknesses of racial classification. The authors conclude that the entire social order has been infused with a catalyst that is fast destroying the long-standing patterns of Negro-white relations and replacing them with ever-developing new patterns.

Pettigrew, Thomas F., EPITAPH FOR JIM CROW, New York, Anti-Defamation League, 1964.

The author examines the historical, sociological, psychological and political forces which shape intergroup relations in the United States, and traces the development of race relations from the nineteenth century to the present.

Rose, Arnold, SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE NEGRO PROBLEM, New York, Anti-Defamation League. Forthcoming 1964.

In an attempt to analyze the dynamic forces that have determined the changes in the Negro problem over the past fifteen years, Arnold Rose has selected what he considers to be most significant in the complexity of current affairs. He has given greatest emphasis to forces involving social power, both economic and political; smaller stress to changes in public ideologies; and least weight to factors usually singled out as "psychological."

This article originally appeared as the introduction to the Torchbook Edition of Arnold Rose's *The Negro in America,* a condensed version of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma.*

Rose, Peter I., THEY AND WE, New York, Random House, 1964.

This book provides a concise, informative introduction to the sociology of intergroup relations. As a groundwork for his analysis of the contemporary scene, the author reviews the history of American minorities and describes the successes and failures of various programs for integrating disparate peoples. Professor Rose then examines the nature of prejudice, the causes and consequences of intergroup conflict, and the reactions of minorities to discriminatory treatment. He concludes with a pertinent discussion of the shifting focus of intergroup research and provides an annotated list of selected readings.

Tumin, Melvin M., SEGREGATION AND DESEGREGATION, New York, Anti-Defamation League. Forthcoming 1964.

This digest of research from 1951 to the present, includes selected material covering segregation and integration in various institutional areas; factors affecting the desegregation process; Negro political behavior; theoretical issues concerning the analysis of prejudice and discrimination; relative status of the American Negro in the economic structure; migration; residence and housing; desegregation and state and local politics; comparative pathology.